

Title to Vol. 2.



P. Fournier: Scul.

2. Esther coming to Ahasuerus. 6

The OLD and NEW
TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

Jews and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and
Judah to the Time of CHRIST.

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DEAN of NORWICH.

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The Old and New
TESTAMENT

BY
J. H. R. Y.

OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT

By the Rev. J. H. R. Y.
1811



THE
NEW TESTAMENT

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THE
NEW TESTAMENT



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B O O K V.

 *Artaxerxes* having by the death of *Artabanus* removed one grand obstacle to his quiet possessing of the Throne had still two others to struggle with, his Brother *Hystaspes* in *Bactria*, and *Artabanus's* party at home. And this last being nearest hand gave him the first trouble. For (a) although

Anno 464.
Artaxerxes 1.

(a) *Ctesias.*

Artabanus was dead, he had left behind him seven sons, and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death; whereon a fierce conflict ensued between them, and those who stood by *Artaxerxes*, in which many Noble *Persians* were slain; but at length *Artaxerxes* having prevailed did cut off all that were concerned in this Conspiracy; and especially he took a signal revenge of every one of those who had an hand in the Murder of his Father, and particularly of the Eunuch *Mitbridates* that betrayed him, whom he caused to be boated to death. The (b) manner of this punishment was thus: The person condemned to it being laid on his back in a boat, and having his hands stretched out and tied fast to each side of it, had another boat put over him, his head only being left out through a place made fit for it. In this posture they fed him, 'till the worms, which were bred in the Excrements, that he voided as he thus lay, did eat out his bowels, and so caused his death, which was usual this way twenty days in effecting, the Criminal lying all this while in exquisite Torments.

Artaxerxes having mastered this difficulty was at leisure to send an Army into *Bactria* (c) against his Brother. But there he did not meet with so easy success, (d) for a fierce battle ensuing, tho' *Hystaspes* did not get the victory, yet he did so well make good his ground, that no advantage was gotten against him, but both armies parted with equal success, and each retired to make better preparations for a second encounter.

But the next year (e) *Artaxerxes* having drawn together a much stronger Army, as having the greatest part of the Empire at his devotion, overpowered *Hystaspes*, and utterly overthrew him in a second Battle; whereby

Anno 463.

Artaxerxes 2.

(b) Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*. (c) That *Hystaspes* was Governor of *Bactria* at his father's death is attested by *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. ii. p. 53. (d) *Ctesias*. (e) *Ctesias*.

having removed all difficulties and oppositions he now became fully possessed of the whole Empire, (f) and the better to secure himself in it, he removed all those Governors of Cities and Provinces, of whom he had any suspicion, that they had been concerned with, or any way well affected to either of the parties which he had suppressed, and put into their places only such as he had a thorough confidence in. After this he did set himself to reform all the abuses and disorders of the Government, whereby he gained to himself much credit and authority throughout all the Provinces of the Empire, and thoroughly established himself in the affections of the People, wherein lieth the surest interest of Princes.

After *Artaxerxes* had obtained these successes, and thereby firmly settled himself in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* Empire, (g) he appointed a solemn rejoicing on this account, and caused it to be celebrated in the City of *Shushan* or *Susa* in feasting and shows for the term of an hundred and eighty days, on the conclusion of which he made a great Feast for all the Princes and People, that were then in *Shushan*, for seven days. And *Vashti* the Queen at the same time made a like feast in her apartment for the women. On the seventh day the King's heart being merry with wine, he commanded his seven Chamberlains to bring Queen *Vashti* before him with the Crown Royal on her head, that he might shew to the Princes and People her Beauty. For she was exceeding fair. But for her thus to shew herself in such an Assembly being (b) contrary to the usage of the *Persians*, and appearing to her (as indeed it was) very undecent, and much unbecoming the modesty of a Lady, as well as the dignity of her Station, she refused to comply herewith, and would not come; whereon the King being very much incensed called

Anno 462.
Artaxerxes 3.

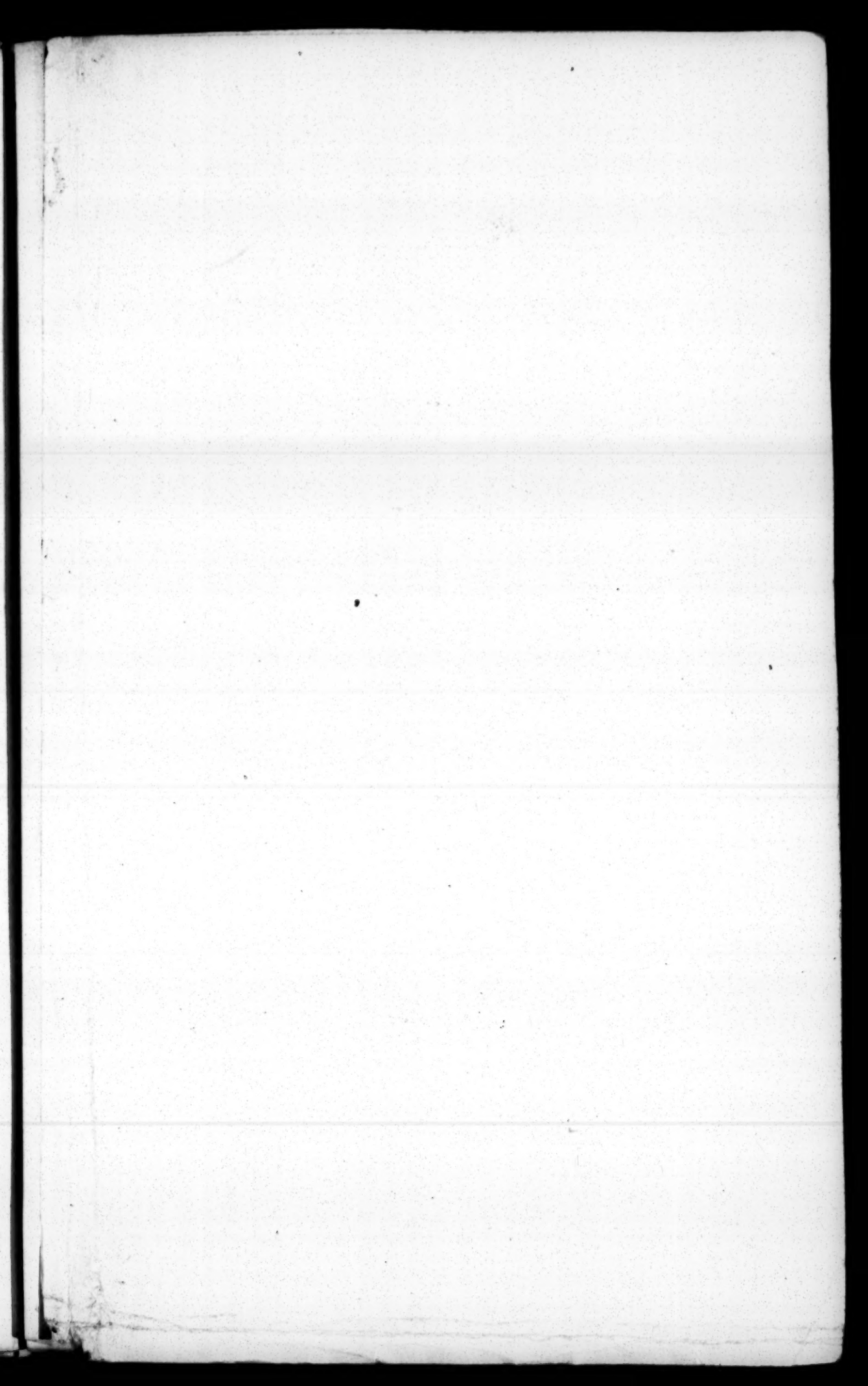
(f) Diodorus Siculus lib. 11: (g) Esther i. Josephus Antiq.
lib. 11. c. 6. (b) Josephus Antiquitatum lib. 11. c. 6.

his seven Counsellors to take advice with them about it, who fearing this might be of ill example through the whole Empire in encouraging women to contemn and disobey their Husbands, advised that the King should put *Vashti* away for ever from him, and give her Royal State to another, that should be better than she, and by his Royal Edict give command throughout the whole Empire, that all wives should pay honour and obedience to their husbands, and that every man should bear rule in his own House. Which advice pleasing the King, he commanded it accordingly to be put in execution, and *Vashti* never more after that came again into the King's presence. For the Decree whereby she was removed from him was registred among the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and therefore it could never again be altered. After this Orders were given out through the whole Empire for the gathering together to the Palace at *Shushan* all the fair Virgins in every Province, that out of them one might be chosen, whom the King should best like, to be made Queen in her place.

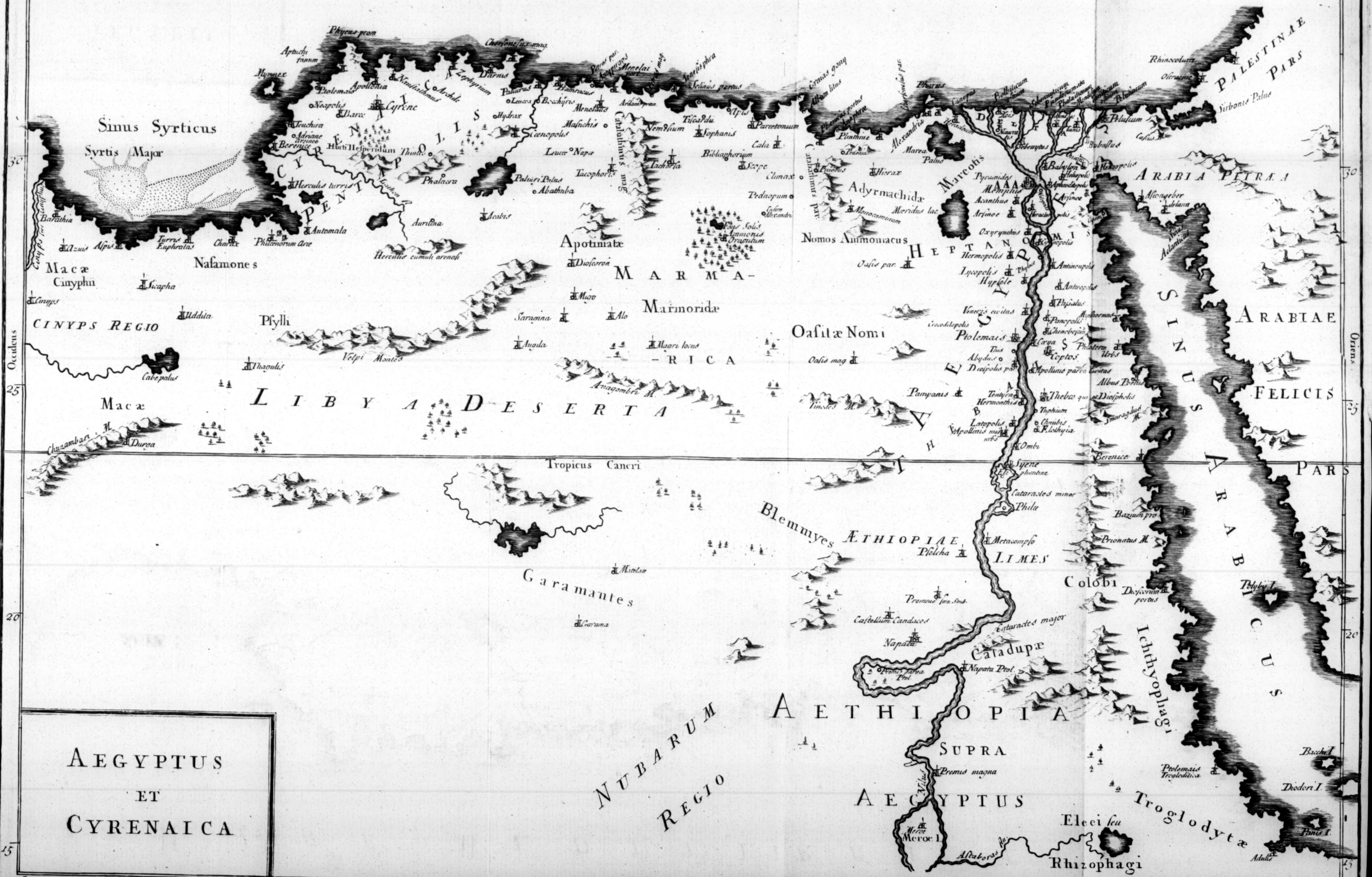
At (i) the time when this collection of Virgins was made, there lived in *Shushan* a certain Jew, named *Mordecai*, who was of the descendants of those who had been carried Captive to *Babylon* with *Jechoniah* King of *Judah*, and by his attendance at the King's gate seems to have been one of the Porters of the Royal Palace. He having no children did breed up *Hadassah* his uncle's daughter, and adopted her for his own. This young woman being very beautiful and fair was made choice of among other Virgins on this occasion, and was carried to the King's Palace, and there committed to the care of *Hegai* the King's Chamberlain, who was appointed to have the Custody of these virgins; whom she pleased so well by her good carriage, that he shewed her favour before all the other Virgins under his care; and therefore he assigned her

Anno 461.
Artaxerxes 4.

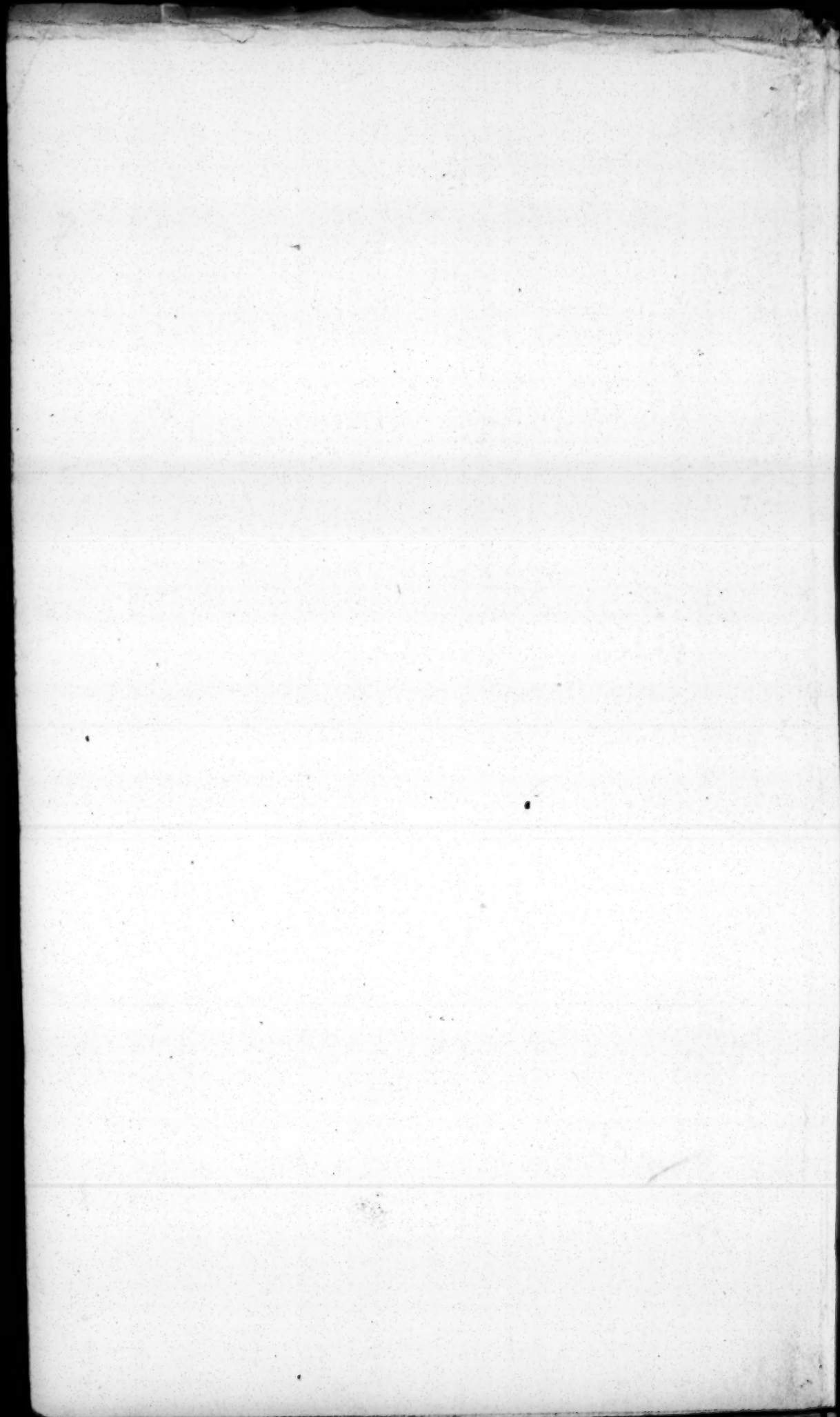
(i) Esther ii. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.



M A R E M E D I T E R R A N E U M



AEGYPTUS
ET
CYRENAICA



the best apartment of the House, and provided her of the first with those things that were requisite for her purification. For the Custom was, that every virgin thus taken into the Palace for the King's use was to go through a Course of Purification by sweet oils and perfumes for a whole year, and therefore *Hadassab* having been by the favour of the Chamberlain of the earliest provided with these things, was one of the first that was prepared and made ready for the King's bed, and therefore was one of the soonest that was called to it.

The Term therefore of her purification being accomplished, her turn came to go in unto the King, who was so well pleased with her, that he often again called her by name, which he used not to do, but to those only of his women whom he was much delighted with. From this time she seems to have had the name of *Esther*, for it is of a *Persian* Original: The signification of it is not now known.

Anno 460.
Artaxerxes 5.

The (*k*) *Egyptians* being very impatient of a foreign yoke, in order to deliver themselves from it rebelled against *Artaxerxes*, and making *Inarus* Prince of the *Libyans* their King called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, who having then a fleet of two hundred sail at *Cyprus* gladly laid hold of the invitation, and forthwith sailed for *Egypt*, looking on this as a favourable opportunity for the crushing of the *Persian* power by driving them out of that Country.

Artaxerxes on the hearing of this Revolt (*l*) made ready an Army of three hundred thousand Men for the suppressing of it, purposing himself to march into *Egypt* at the head of them; but being dissuaded from hazarding his person in this Expedition, he committed it to the care of *Achæmenides* one of his Brothers. (*m*) *Herodotus* and (*n*) *Diodorus Siculus* say, that it was *Achæmines* the Brother of *Xerxes* and

(*k*) Thucydides lib. 1. Ctesias. (*l*) Diodorus Siculus lib. 11. Ctesias.
(*m*) Herodotus lib. 3. & lib. 7. (*n*) Diodor. Siculus lib. 11.

Uncle of *Artaxerxes*, the same who afore had the Government of *Egypt* in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes*, that had the conduct of this war, but herein they were deceived by the Similitude of the names. For it appears by *Ctesias*, that he was the son of *Hamistris*, whom *Artaxerxes* sent with his Army into *Egypt*.

Achæmenides being arrived in *Egypt* with his numerous Army encamped on the River Nile. In the Interim (o) the *Athenians* having beaten the *Persian* Fleet at Sea, and destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the Nile, and having landed their Forces under the command of *Charitimus* their General, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*; whereon falling on *Achæmenides* with their joint forces they overthrew him in a great battle, killing an hundred thousand of his men, and among them *Achæmenides* himself. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, where the victors pursuing them took two parts of the Town; but the *Persians* securing themselves in the third, called the *White Wall*, which was by much the largest and the strongest part, there suffered a siege of near three years; during all which time they valiantly defended themselves against their assailants, till at length they were succoured by those who were sent to their relief.

Artaxerxes having received an account of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and what part the *Athenians* bore in the effecting of it, in order to divert their forces from being thus imployed against him (p) he sent an Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* with great sums of money to induce them to make war upon the *Athenians*, but they not being by any means to be wrought to it, *Artaxerxes* resolved to endeavour this diversion another way, by sending himself an Army into *Attica* with *Themistocles* at the head of it; which he thought

(o) Thucydides lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodorus Siculus lib. 11.

(p) Thucydides lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus lib. 11.

could not fail of making them recall their forces out of *Egypt*, because then they would need them at home for their own defence. And (q) accordingly Orders were sent to *Themistocles* to prepare for the Expedition, and an Army and a Fleet was drawing towards the *Ionian* Coast to be committed to his Conduct for this purpose. But *Themistocles* not knowing how to decline the Command by reason of the great benefits he had received from the King, and the promises he had made of serving him on any such occasion; and on the other hand abhorring the bringing of a war upon his Country; to extricate himself from this difficulty resolved to put an end to his life, and therefore inviting all his Friends together, and having sacrificed a Bull he drank a large draught of his blood, and so died. But (r) there are others that say this was done not so much out of love to his Country, as out of a fear of encountering the valour and good fortune of *Cimon*, who being then General of the *Athenians* carried victory with him wherever he went. But had this been all the matter, so wise and valiant a man would have seen enough in this case not to have run upon so fatal a resolution. It's possible he might have beaten *Cimon*, if not, it would have been time enough for him to have saved his credit this way by dying in battle when vanquished, and therefore he needed not to have anticipated it by a poisonous draught. In (s) the interim *Artabazus* Governor of *Cilicia* and *Megabyzus* Governor of *Syria* were ordered to get ready an Army for the relief of those who were besieged in the *White Wall*, and for the carrying on of the *Egyptian* War. This (t) *Megabyzus* was the son of *Zopyrus*, and had been one of the Generals that commanded in the Army, which *Xerxes* led into *Greece*, whose daughter *Amytis* he had married; but she having

(q) Plutarchus in *Themistocle*.
 Plutarchus in *Themistocle* & *Cimone*.

(r) Thucydides lib. 1. Plutarchus in *Themistocle* & *Cimone*.
 (s) Thucydides lib. 1. Diodor. lib. 11. Ctesias. (t) Herodotus lib. 3. in fine, & lib. 7. Ctesias.

very much abused his Bed by her frequent Adulteries, which she was very infamously addicted to, he grew very much disgusted at it, and that not only with her, but also with the whole Royal Family, where perchance she found too much countenance in her crime, especially from her Mother, who was as infamously guilty of it as herself. This induced *Artabanus* to communicate to him the Plot, which he had contrived against the life of *Artaxerxes* after the murder of his Father, hoping while he was under this discontent to draw him into his party. But *Megabyzus* abhorring the Treason made discovery of the whole to *Artaxerxes*, and gave him that Counsel, which put him in the way to get rid of this danger. And after the death of *Artabanus*, he headed the King's Forces against the Partizans of the Traitor, and it was chiefly by his valour and conduct that they were suppressed, and *Artaxerxes* secured on the Throne, and in the accomplishing of this he received a dangerous wound, of which he very difficultly recovered. By all which merit he very deservedly obtained the first place in the King's favour, and therefore was chiefly confided on in this important Commission for the reduction of *Egypt*.

In the beginning of this year (*u*) *Ezra* obtained of King *Artaxerxes* and his seven chief Counsellors a very ample Commission for his return to *Jerusalem*, with all of his Nation that were willing to accompany him thither, giving him full authority there to restore and settle the State, and reform the Church of the *Jews*, and to regulate and govern both according to their own Laws. This extraordinary favour not being likely to have been obtained but by some more than ordinary means, it seems to have been granted at the Solicitation of *Esther*, who was now become the best beloved of all the King's Concubines, though not yet advanced to the Dignity of Queen. For it was (*w*) usual for the Kings of

(*u*) *Ezra* vii.(*w*) *Herodotus* lib. 9.

Persia on some particular days and occasions to allow their women to ask what boons they pleased, and upon such time or occasion it's most likely *Esther* by the direction of *Mordecai*, tho' she had not yet discovered her Kindred and Nation, asked this of the King. This *Ezra* was of the Descendants of *Seraiah* the High-Priest, who was slain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he burnt the Temple and City of *Jerusalem*. That he was the immediate son of *Seraiah* is wholly improbable; for supposing him to have been but one year old at the death of this *Seraiah*, he must now have been one hundred thirty and two, and (x) yet we find him alive in the time of *Nehemiah* fifteen years after, when according to this account he must have been one hundred forty and seven years old, tho' he was then of that vigour as to bear the fatigue of reading the law for a whole forenoon together to all the people of the *Jews*, which is a thing wholly unlikely in those days; and therefore where he is said to be the son of *Seraiah*, it must be understood in that large sense, wherein commonly in Scripture any Descendant is said to be the son of any Ancestor from whom he was derived; and we need seek no farther for an Instance of this, than the very Text where *Ezra* is said to be the son of *Seraiah*. For in the same place *Azariah* is said to be the son of *Meraioth*, though there were (y) six between. As *Ezra* was a very holy, so also was he a very learned man, and especially he was very excellently skill'd in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore he is said to have been a very ready Scribe in the Law of God, which he was so eminent for, that *Artaxerxes* (z) takes particular notice of it in his Commission. (zz) He began his journey from *Babylon* on the first day of the first month called *Nisan* (which might fall about the middle of our *March*) and having halted at the River of *Abava* 'till the rest

(x) *Nehemiah* viii.(y) See 2 *Chron.* vi. 7, 8, 9.(z) *Ezra* vii. 12.(zz) *Ezra* viii.

of his Company was come up to him, he there in a solemn Fast recommended himself and all that were with him to the divine protection, and then on the twelfth day set forward for *Jerusalem*, where they all safely arrived on the first day of the fifth month, having spent four whole months in their journey from *Babylon* thither. On his arrival he delivered up to the Temple the Offerings, which had been made to it by the King and his Nobles, and the rest of the people of *Israel* that stayed behind, which amounted to an hundred Talents of Gold, with twenty Basons of Gold of the value of a thousand (a) *Darics*, and six hundred and fifty Talents of Silver, with Vessels of Silver of the weight of an hundred Talents more. And then having communicated his Commission to the King's Lieutenants and Governors throughout all *Syria* and *Palestine*, he betook himself to the executing of the contents of it; whereby (b) he was fully impowered to settle both the Church and the State of the *Jews* according to the Law of *Moses*, and to appoint Magistrates and Judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and not become obedient to it, and that not only by imprisonment and confiscation of Goods, but also with Banishment and Death, according as their Crimes should be found to deserve. And all this power *Ezra* was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute it for the space of thirteen years, 'till *Nebemiah* arrived with a new Commission from the *Persian* Court for the same work.

Esther (c) growing farther still in the King's favour, and gaining his affection beyond all the rest of his women, he advanced her to higher Honour, and on the tenth day of the tenth month, which falls about the end of our year, did put the Royal Diadem upon her head, and declared her Queen in the stead of *Vashti*; and thereon made a solemn Feast for

(a) A Daric was a piece of Gold of the value of one of our Jacobus's. See above Book 2. (b) *Ezra* vii. 25, 26. (c) *Esther* ii.

his Princes and Servants, which was called *Esther's* Feast, and in Honour of her at the same time made a release of Taxes to the Provinces, and gave Donatives and Presents to all that then attended him, according to the grandeur and dignity of his Royal Estate; which gave *Ezra* the greater encouragement under her Protection and Patronage to go on with the work of reforming and settling the *Jewish* Church and State in *Judaea* and *Jerusalem*, which he had there undertaken.

And from his entering on this work the beginning of the seventy Weeks of the famous Prophecy, which is deliver'd to us in the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, is to be computed. The words of the Prophecy in our *English* Translation are as followeth.

Ver. 24. *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy People, and upon thy Holy City, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the Vision and Prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.* ver. 25. *Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks, the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.* ver. 26. *And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the People of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and to the end of the War desolations are determined.* ver. 27. *And he shall confirm the Covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured out upon the desolate.*

And it being of great moment for the conviction of *Jews*, and other Infidels, who reject the Faith of *Christ*,

Christ, to have this Prophecy well cleared, and made out, in order hereto it is to be observed,

I. That this Prophecy doth relate primarily and especially to the *Jews*. For it expresseth the time, that was determined upon the People of *Daniel*, that is the *Jews*, and upon the Holy City, that is *Jerusalem*, the whole of which was seventy weeks; that is, that this was the time which God had fore-ordained and determined upon the *Jews* for their being his peculiar People, and upon *Jerusalem* for its being his Holy City, after the Expiration of which an end being to be put to the *Mosaic* Oeconomy, they should be no longer God's peculiar people, and the worship which he had established at *Jerusalem* being to be abolish'd, that City should be no longer a City Holy unto him.

II. That these seventy weeks are weeks of years. For among the *Jews* as there were sabbatical days, whereby their days were divided into weeks of days, so there were (*d*) sabbatical years, whereby their years were divided into weeks of years, and this last sort of weeks is that which is here mentioned, so that every one of the weeks of this Prophecy contains seven years, and the whole number of 70 weeks contain four hundred and ninety years, at the end whereof this determined time expired; after which the *Jews* were no more to be the Peculiar People of God, nor *Jerusalem* his Holy City, because then the Oeconomy, which he had establish'd among them, was to cease, and the worship, which he had appointed at *Jerusalem*, was wholly to be abolished. And

III. All this was accomplished at the death of *Christ*. For then the *Jewish* Church, and the *Jewish* worship at *Jerusalem* were wholly abolished, and the Christian Church and the Christian worship succeeded in their stead; then the time, which was determined upon the *Jews* for their being God's pe-

(*d*) Levit. xxv. 8.

culiar people, and upon *Jerusalem* for its being his Holy City, being fully expired, thenceforth began the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, and instead of the *Jews* all the Nations of the world were called thereunto, and instead of *Jerusalem* every place through the whole Earth, where God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth, was made holy unto him. And therefore then the seventy weeks of this Prophecy must have their ending. For they were determined and decreed for this purpose, and therefore in this they must have their conclusion. And this all the events, which are in this Prophecy predicted to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, do necessarily prove. In the 24th verse we have six of them, for the accomplishing of which these seventy weeks are there said to be determined; and therefore at the accomplishing of them these weeks must have their ending. They are these following. 1st, *To finish* (or (e) restrain) *Transgression*; 2d, *To* (f) *make an end of sins*; 3d, *To make* (g) (expiation or) *reconciliation for iniquity*; 4th, *To bring in everlasting righteousness*; 5th, *To seal up* (or (b) compleat and

(e) The word *Lecalle* in the Hebrew signifieth to restrain, as well as to shut up or finish, and the former rather than the latter. (f) Here is a various reading in the Hebrew Text as to the word which we translate to make an end of. For whereas the true reading is *Le-hatem*, that is, to finish or make an end of, and in the next line after there is the word *Lachtom*, which there signifieth to seal up, and these two words as to the letters differ only in this, that the former is written with an *He* in the middle, and the other with a *Cheth*, the similitude that is between these two letters in the Hebrew Alphabet (for they differ very little the one from the other) led Transcribers into this mistake, that they wrote the word, as if it were *Lachtom* in both Places. But it is corrected in the Margin. However this would not have altered the sense, because the same word, which signifieth to seal up in Hebrew, is also used to signify to finish or compleat, because the putting of the Seal to any Instrument or Writing compleats the matter, about which it is, and finisheth the whole Transaction. (g) The word in the Hebrew Text properly signifieth to expiate as by Sacrifice, and by such an expiation did Christ our Lord work reconciliation for us with our God. (b) See note (f).

fulfil)

fulfil) *vision and prophecy*; and 6th, *To anoint the most Holy*. And all these were accomplished in that great work of our Salvation, which *Christ* our Lord undertook for us, and fully compleated by his Death, and Passion, and his Resurrection from the dead. For being born without original Sin, and having lived without actual Sin, he was truly *the most Holy* of all, that bore our Nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great work, *he was anointed* with the Holy Ghost and with Power to be our King, and our Priest, and our Prophet for the effecting and accomplishing of it. And having as our Priest offered up himself a sacrifice upon the Cross to make expiation and atonement for all our Sins, he did thereby *make an end of them*, by taking away their Guilt, and in so doing *he did work reconciliation* for us with our God. And having as our Prophet given unto us his Gospel, the Law of *Everlasting Righteousness*, which was not a Temporal Law, as was that of *Moses*, but to last for ever, and to be our guide into all Righteousness, as long as the world should last; and also having as our King sent his Holy Spirit into our hearts to influence and govern us according to this Law, he hath done all for us that is necessary, thereby *to restrain and extinguish in us all manner of Transgressions*, and fully deliver us from the power of them. And in doing all this *he hath sealed up, that is fulfilled, and thoroughly finished all that, which by Visions and Prophecies had been before revealed concerning him*. And therefore all these events being thus brought to pass, and accomplished at the time of *Christ's* death, this necessarily determines us there to fix the end of these weeks, which were appointed for the accomplishing of them.

IV. The end of these weeks being thus fixed at the death of *Christ*, it doth necessarily determine us where to place the beginning of them, that is four hundred and ninety years before. And therefore the death of *Christ*, as most learned men agree, falling (i) in

(i) in the year of the *Julian* Period 4746, and in the *Jewish* Month (k) *Nisan*, if we reckon 490 years backward, this will lead us up to the Month *Nisan*, in the year of the *Julian* Period 4256, which was the very year and month (l) in which *Ezra* had his Commission from *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, for his return to *Jerusalem* there to restore the Church and State of the *Jews*. For that year of the *Julian* Period, according to *Ptolemy's* Canon, was the seventh year of that King's Reign, (m) in which the Scriptures tell us his Commission was granted. The beginning therefore of the seventy weeks or four hundred and ninety years of this Prophecy was in the month *Nisan* of the *Jewish* year, in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, and in the 4256th year of the *Julian* Period, when *Ezra* had his Commission; and the end of them fell in the very same month of *Nisan*, in the 4746th year of the *Julian* Period, in which very year and very month *Christ* our Lord suffered for us, and thereby compleated the whole work of our Salvation, there being just seventy weeks of years or four hundred and ninety years from the one to the other.

V. It's evident from the Prophecy itself, that these weeks must have this beginning, that is from the date of the Commission granted *Ezra*. For 1st, They are pinn'd down thereto by an exprefs Character in the Text; and 2^{dly}, They cannot, agreeable to that, and other Scriptures, and the Authentic Histories of the Times to which they relate, have it any where else.

And 1st, These weeks must have their beginning from the date of the Commission granted *Ezra*, because they are pinned down thereto by an exprefs

(i) Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum lib. 6. p. 562. Usherus in Annalibus sub Anno J. P. 4746. Strauchius, aliique. (k) *Christ* suffered at the time of the Passover, which was always celebrated in the middle of the month *Nisan*. (l) *Ezra* vii. 9. There it is said in the first month and the first month of the *Jewish* year was *Nisan*. (m) *Ezra* vii. 7.

Character in the Text, and that Character is *the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*. For that from thence the seventy weeks must have their beginning, (n) the Text is very exprefs, and to excite us the more to observe it, introduceth it with this remarkable preface, (n) *know therefore and understand*. But this Commandment or Decree was that, which was granted to *Ezra* in that Commiffion, with which he was sent into *Judea* in the feventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*; and therefore from thence the beginning of these weeks must commence. For the words in the Text, *to restore and build Jerusalem*, are not to be understood literally, but figuratively for the restoring of the State of the *Jews*, as well the Political as the Ecclesiastical, and the refettling of both according to the Law of *Moses*: And what is more ufual in Prophecies, than to be given out in figurative Exprefions? And what is more common in Scripture, than by *Jerusalem* to mean the whole Political and Ecclesiastical State of that People? And for the re-establishing of both these, and the fettling of them again upon the former basis, from whence they had been overthrown by the *Babylonians*, and were not as yet but very imperfectly restored, the Commiffion granted to *Ezra* was very full. For (o) it gave him thorough power to restore the Law of *Moses*, and fully re-establish the obfervance of it both in Church and State, and to appoint Magiftrates and Judges to govern the people according to it, and to punish all fuch as fhould be difobedient thereto, either with death, banifhment, imprifonment, or confifcation of goods, according as their crimes fhould be found to deferve. And all this *Ezra* accordingly executed in manner as will hereafter be related. Before his coming to *Jerusalem* with this Commiffion the Scriptures were in a manner loft, the people in a profound

(n) Daniel ix. 25.
of *Ezra*, ver. 11—26.

(o) See the Commiffion in the viith Chapter

ignorance of the Law, and the worship of God neglected, and every thing else both in Church and State in great disorder and confusion. But on his coming he restored the Scriptures, instructed the People in the Law, brought the worship of God into due order, and proceeded, as long as his Commission lasted, to work a full reformation in all things else. And after his Commission was at an end, he gave not over his endeavours herein, but as a Priest, as a skilful Scribe in the Law of God, and as President of the *Sanbedrim*, (p) he still carried on the same work; and having a Successor equally zealous in the same design, he did as much in it under his Authority, as formerly he did by his own. So that he hath been esteemed as another *Moses*, and deservedly reckoned as the second founder of the Jewish Church and State. And therefore the beginning of this work is a noble *Epocha*, from whence to begin the Calculation of these weeks, and doth most agreeably accord with the intent and purpose of this Prophecy, in which they are predicted. For the whole intent and purpose of it is to foreshew and set forth the age of the restored Church of the *Jews*, how long it was to continue, and when to cease, and be abolished; and from whence it is more proper to reckon this, than from the time when the thorough restoration of it began? And this was then only begun, when *Ezra* by virtue of the Commission granted to him by *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia* in the seventh year of his reign did set about this work; and therefore from hence the computation of these weeks according to the Prophecy that predicts them must begin. And that this figurative interpretation of the words, and none other, must be the true meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be understood in a literal Sense. For if they are so to be understood, they can be applicable to no

(p) Nehemiah viii.

other restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, than that which was decreed and commanded by *Cyrus*, at the release of the Captivity. For this Prophecy was revealed to *Daniel* before this release, and therefore when it is said therein, that the *Epocha* of these weeks was to begin from the going forth of the Command or Decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, of what Decree can it be more properly understood, than of that, which should first be granted next after this Prophecy for that purpose, and by virtue whereof this City was accordingly rebuilt after its having been destroyed by the *Babylonians*, and was again repopled, and inhabited by the same people, who had been its former Inhabitants? And that this was done by virtue of *Cyrus's* Decree appears from many places of Scripture. We are told in *Isaiab* (chap. xlv. 28.) that *it was Cyrus, that should say to Jerusalem, Be thou built, and to the Temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.* And again (chap. xlv. 13.) it is said of the same *Cyrus*, that *God would raise him up, and direct him, that he should build his City, and release his Captives;* where it is to be observed, that he that released God's Captives, and laid the foundation of the Temple, was to be the person, that was to rebuild *Jerusalem*; so that he is not only by Name, but also by this Character and Description plainly pointed out to be the person that was to do this work. For that *Cyrus* did release the Captive *Jews* who were God's People, and that he did no more than lay the foundation of the Temple, (for it was not perfected till in an after-reign) is well known. And therefore according to these passages of Holy Scripture, it must be he only that did restore and rebuild *Jerusalem*. And so accordingly it was done by virtue of the Decree, which he granted for the return of the *Jews* thither. For can it be imagined that *Cyrus* should grant licence for the *Jews* to return to *Jerusalem*, and rebuild the Temple there, without allowing them to rebuild that City also? *Ezra* plainly tells us, that

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as soon as the *Jews* were returned into *Judea* by virtue of *Cyrus's* Decree, (q) they dispersed themselves into the several Cities, to which they belonged, and again dwelt in them: And can it be thought, that they did not then again rebuild them? For without rebuilding of them how could they dwell in them? And if those who belonged to the other Cities of *Judab* rebuilt, and dwelt in them again, how can we think, that those, who belonged to *Jerusalem*, did not do the same, and that especially since it was the Metropolis of the whole Nation, the place where the Temple stood, where all went up continually to worship, and where three times a year every male appeared before the Lord at the solemn Festivals, and where also the Governor dwelt, where the Council sat, and all matters of Judgment were ultimately decided? The matter is beyond all dispute; when the *Jews* on their return rebuilt their other Cities, they must then most certainly have rebuilt *Jerusalem* also. The great Concourse, which the reasons I have mentioned constantly drew thither, must have necessitated this, had there been no other inducement for it. It is easier to suppose all the rest of the Cities of *Judab* to have been left still in their Rubbish after the return of the *Jews* from their Captivity, than that this City alone should remain unbuilt. The rebuilding of it is not indeed expressly included in the Commission of *Cyrus*, as we have it recorded in the first Chapter of *Ezra*; that only gives Licence to the *Jews*, to return into *Judea*, and there rebuild the house of God, which is in *Jerusalem*. But the Licence to rebuild the House of God, which is in *Jerusalem*, must either imply a Licence to rebuild *Jerusalem* also, or else (which seems most probable) *Ezra* gives us in the place mentioned only an abstract of the chief things granted by that Licence, and not a recital of the whole, in which most likely many other things, and among them the

(q) *Ezra* ii. 1. & iii. 1.

rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, and the other Cities of *Judab* might be fully and expressely mentioned. For it is certain, by virtue of that Licence they had power so to do, and accordingly executed it. For the complaint of the neighbouring Nations to the *Perfian* Court against them that were returned was (r) that *they builded Jerusalem, that rebellious and bad City, and had set up the Walls thereof, and joined the Foundations of it*: And the Order from King *Artaxerxes* (so the *Magian*, who then reigned, it seems called himself) was (s) *to cause the Jews to cease, that this City be not builded*. However from the first of *Cyrus* till the time of this Order fourteen years having elapsed, the rebuilding of *Jerusalem* had by that time gone a great way. For within two years after we find the Prophet *Haggai* complaining of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, (t) *that they dwell in cieled Houses, while they let the House of God lie waste*. From all this it plainly appears that *Jerusalem* after its having been destroyed by the *Babylonians* was again rebuilt by virtue of the Decree, which *Cyrus* granted in the first year of his reign for the release and restoration of the *Jews*. And therefore if these words of the Prophecy, *To restore and build Jerusalem*, are to be understood in a literal sense, they can be understood of no other restoring and building of that City, than that which was accomplished by virtue of that Decree, and the Computation of the seventy weeks must begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the Computation be begun so high, the 490 years of the said seventy weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of those Events, which are predicted by this Prophecy. For from the first of *Cyrus* to the death of *Christ* were 568 years; and therefore if the said 490 years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many years either before the cutting off or the coming of the *Messiah*, which ought both to fall within the compass of them according to the express

(r) Ezra iv. 12. (s) Ezra iv. 21. (t) Haggai i. 4,

words of this Prophecy. It evidently therefore follows from hence, that the words of this Prophecy, *to restore and build Jerusalem*, cannot be understood in a literal sense. For the sum of the whole Argument is thus. If the words are to be understood in a literal sense, they must be understood of that rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, which was accomplished by virtue of *Cyrus's Decree*, and the Computation of the seventy weeks or the 490 years thereof must begin from the going forth or issuing out of that Decree. But it cannot begin from thence for the reason mentioned, and therefore these words cannot be understood in a literal Sense, but must be interpreted to mean figuratively the restoring and rebuilding the Church and State of the *Jews at Jerusalem*. And this *Ezra* effected by virtue of the Command or Decree, which was granted to him for this purpose in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and therefore here the beginning of these weeks must be placed: and this will be farther proved if we consider,

2dly, That it can be placed no where else, so as to make the ending comport with the intent and purpose of the Prophecy, and the accomplishing of the Events predicted by it. For there were four Commandments or Decrees issued out by the Kings of *Persia* in favour of the *Jews*, from one of which according to the express words of the Prophecy the Computation of these weeks is to be begun: The first (u) granted by *Cyrus* in the first year of his reign, the (w) second by *Darius* about the fourth year of his reign, the third (x) by *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra* in the seventh year of his reign, and (y) the fourth by the same *Artaxerxes* to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of his reign. But this Computation could not begin from that of *Cyrus*, nor from that of *Darius*, nor from that of the twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, and therefore it must begin from this of the seventh of

(u) *Ezra* i. (w) *Ezra* vi. (x) *Ezra* vii. (y) *Nehemiah* ii.

Artaxerxes granted to *Ezra*. That it could not begin from any of the other three I shall shew in their order.

And 1st, As to the Decree of *Cyrus*, the 490 years of these weeks cannot be computed from thence for the reason already said, that is, because if they begin from thence, they cannot by a great many years reach the events predicted by this Prophecy, and therefore none, who understand this Prophecy to relate either to the cutting off, or the coming of the *Messiah*, do begin them from hence. For according to this Computation no Chronology can ever reconcile them to either of them.

2^{dly}, Neither can the Computation of these weeks be begun from the Decree granted by *Darius*. But there having been three *Darius*'s, that reigned in *Persia*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Darius Notbus*, and *Darius Codomannus*, it is to be first inquired, which of these three it was, that granted this Decree, and then secondly, it shall be shewn, that the computation of these weeks cannot be begun from it. And first of these three *Darius*'s, it's certain it could not be *Darius Codomannus*. For if the 490 years of these weeks be reckoned from any part of his reign, they will overshoot all the events predicted by this Prophecy by many more years, than they will fall short of them, if reckoned from the first of *Cyrus*, and therefore no one hath ever said, that he was the *Darius* that granted this Decree. But *Scoliger*, and many others following his Authority, have said it of *Darius Notbus*. But there are invincible arguments against it, which unanswerably demonstrate, that it could not be *Darius Notbus*, but it must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, the first of these three, that reigned in *Persia*, and none other, by whom this Decree was issued out. For he who according to *Ezra* granted this Decree is the same *Darius*, of whom mention is made (2) in *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, but that *Darius*

(2) See *Ezra* v. i. vi. 14. *Haggai* i. 1—15. *Zechariah* i. 1—7. and viii. 1,

could not be *Darius Notbus*, but must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*. For first, from the Destruction of the Temple of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* to the reign of *Darius Notbus* were one hundred sixty and five years. But from the Destruction of it to the time of the second Decree, by virtue of which the rebuilding of it was finished, were no more than seventy years, according to the Prophet *Zechariah*. For we find (a) in the Book of his Prophecies, that in the fourth year of the same *Darius*, who granted this Decree to the *Jews* (which was also the year in which it was published at *Jerusalem*) the fast of the fifth month, (b) in which they had mourned for the destruction of the Temple, and the fast of the seventh month, (c) in which they had mourned for the utter desolation of the Land, which had been brought upon it by the death of *Gedaliah*, had been observed just seventy years; And no one can doubt, who thoroughly considers that Text, but that their mourning for these calamities had been from the very time that they had suffered them; and that therefore it could not be *Darius Notbus*, but it must be some other *Darius* then reigning in *Persia* within the reach of the said seventy years, who granted this Decree; and that since the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis* was just seventy years from the time, in which the City and Temple of *Jerusalem* were destroyed by the *Chaldeans* (as hath been before observed) this other *Darius* must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*. It must be acknowledged that the same Prophet speaks also in another place of the like number of seventy years in the second of *Darius* two years before. But these were not the seventy years of mourning for the de-

(a) *Zechariah* vii. 5. (b) *2 Kings* xxv. 8. *Jeremiah* lii. 12. The Jews observe this fast on the 9th of Ab, which is their fifth Month, even to this day. (c) *2 Kings* xxv. 25. *Jeremiah* xli. 1. The Jews observe this fast on the third day of Tisri, which is their seventh Month, even to this day, and both these fast days, that of the third of Tisri and the other of the ninth of Ab, are marked on those days in all their Kalendars.

struction of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, but (d) *the seventy years, in which God had expressed his indignation against Jerusalem and the Cities of Judah*, which are to be computed from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* (e) came up against *Judah*, and besieged *Jerusalem*, for which the *Jews* fasted in the tenth month, and this was two years before that City was taken and destroyed by him. For the taking and destroying of *Jerusalem* was in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, but the first besieging of it was in the (e) ninth year of *Zedekiah*, and in the tenth month of that year. But (f) *Staliger*, instead of being convinced by this Argument, turns it to speak for him, and his reasonings upon it for this purpose are, that these fasts, which are spoken of in *Zechariah*, (g) to have been observed on the fourth, and fifth month, and on the seventh month, and the tenth month, could not be appointed, but by the Church of the *Jews* (by which I suppose he meaneth the *Sanhedrim*, or some other Convention of Priests and Elders representing that Church) but neither the *Sanhedrim* nor any other Convention representing that Church could come together, or make any such Constitution after the Calamities, which these fasts commemorated, 'till the *Jews* were returned from their Captivity, and again settled in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. And therefore these fasts could not begin to be observed, nor the seventy years observing them, which *Zechariah* speaks of, commence 'till after that time. But seventy years from any time after the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* Captivity will carry us much beyond the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, and therefore it could not be the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis*, but it must be the fourth year of the *Darius*,

(d) *Zechariah* i. 12. (e) 2 Kings xxv. 1. *Jerem.* xxxix. 1. and lii. 4. *The Jews observe this fast on the tenth day of Tebeth (which is their tenth month) even to this day, and call it the fast for the first siege of Jerusalem in all their Kalendars.* (f) *De Emendatione Temporum*, lib. 6. p. 602. (g) *Zechariah* vii. 5. and viii. 19.

the next of that name reigning after him in *Persia* (and that was *Darius Notbus*) in which these fasts were spoken of by that Prophet. But the answer to all this is, that there was no need of any such formal Constitution of the whole *Jewish Church* for the observing of these fasts. The Calamities, which they commemorated, while fresh in memory, might be reason enough to introduce the use of them by common Consent. And if not, yet what should hinder but that the Priests and Elders might meet together in *Babylon* while there in Captivity, and in that place, as well as if they had been at *Jerusalem*, hold conventions for the making of such a Constitution? If the Book of *Baruch* be to be credited in any thing, (*b*) that tells us of such a Convention in *Babylon* held there in the time of the Captivity, and of a fast appointed by it. And we find in the Book of *Ezekiel*, which is of undoubted because of divine authority, that (*i*) the Elders of *Israel* in *Babylon* met more than once to ask Counsel of God from the mouth of the Prophet. And when (*k*) *Sberezzer* and *Regem-Melech* came to *Jerusalem* to ask Counsel of the Prophets and Priests there in the name and behalf of the *Jews* of *Babylon* about these fasts, can we think that they were sent by any other, than a Convention of the Priests and Elders in that place met together for this purpose? It's certain, that most of the Constitutions, that are now observed by the *Jews* (*l*) were made in the Land of *Babylon* by Conventions of their Elders

(*b*) *Baruch* i. *Although perchance this Book be no more than a Religious Romance, yet such Romancers do usually so accommodate their fables to the Usages and Customs of the people and times of which they treat, as not to ascribe any other to them than such, as have been of known use and practice in them; and therefore these Books may be of some Authority for Usages and Customs, altho' not for History.* (*i*) *Ezekiel* vii. 1. and xiv. 1. (*k*) *Zechariah* vii. 1, 2, 3. (*l*) *The Jews had in the Land of Babylon three Universities, Sora, Naherda, and Pumbeditha, where they had their publick Schools and publick Conventions of their principal Doctors and Learned Men, and in these the Constitutions, that are in the Babylonish Gemara, were all made.*

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after the last destruction of *Jerusalem* (for all that are in the *Babylonish Gemara* were there made.) And why then might not a Constitution for these fasts be made there also by a like Convention after the first destruction of that City? And why there might not be a *Sanhedrim* in *Babylon* during the Captivity of the *Jews* I cannot see. The Temple service was indeed confined to *Jerusalem*, but the *Sanhedrim* was no part of it. That was a National Council, which might be assembled wherever the Nation was. And therefore when the whole Nation of the *Jews* was removed into the Land of *Babylon*, who can give a reason, why this National Council should not be there also, and there meet and consult together for the common Interest of the Nation in that Land, as well as they did, when they were in their own? We are told by the *Jewish* writers that from the time of *Alexander the Great* there was (m) a *Sanhedrim* in *Alexandria* in *Egypt* for the sake only of a Colony of the *Jews*, that was there planted, even while *Judea* and *Jerusalem* were fully inhabited. And how much more then might there have been one at *Babylon*, when the whole Nation was removed thither during their Captivity in that Land? It's plain from hence that in every part of this Argument *Scaliger* begs his Principles, and therefore they can be of no force for the proof of any thing, that he would infer from them. But secondly, That the *Darius*, who granted this second Decree could not be *Darius Notbus*, but must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, will farther appear from the part, which *Jeshua* the High-Priest and *Zerubbabel* the Governor acted in it. For they (n) were the persons who were sent to *Jerusalem* with the first Decree, that which was granted by *Cyrus*, and they also (o) executed the second Decree, that which was granted by *Darius*. But if this *Darius* were *Darius*

(m) *Gemara Hierosol.* in *Succah*, fol. 55. *Gemara Babylonica* in *Succah*, fol. 51.

(n) *Ezra* ii. 2. and iii. 8, &c.

(o) *Ezra* v. 6. *Haggai* i. 2. *Zechariah* iii. and iv.

Nothus, supposing *Jeshua* to have been forty years old at the granting of *Cyrus's* Decree (and less at that time he could not be, he having then (p) sons in the work of the Temple of twenty years old and upward) and supposing *Zerubbabel* to be thirty years old (and a less age could not comport with his office) the former must have been one hundred fifty seven, and the other one hundred forty seven years old, when this second Decree granted by *Darius* was executed by them, which is utterly improbable. (q) *Scaliger* to make out the probability of it brings instances of several Long-livers. I deny not, it's possible one in a Century may be found, who may have reached the first of these ages, that is that of 157. For we have had (r) a *Par* who hath come nigh it, and a *Jenkinson* who hath out-lived it. But that two together, and Collegues in the same work and business, should live so long is not likely. But thirdly, the improbability of this will appear much farther, if we consider the words spoken by God himself in the second year of this *Darius*, which we have in the second Chapter of *Haggai*, ver. 3. *Who is left among you that saw this House in its first glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your eyes in Comparison of it as nothing?* For this Text doth plainly express, that some were then alive, who had seen the first Temple, and well remembered the beauty and glory of it; and therefore if this *Darius* were *Darius Notbus*, they must have been of an age much more beyond belief, than either that of *Jeshua*, or that of *Zerubbabel* above-mentioned. For from the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in which the Temple was destroyed, to the second of *Darius Notbus*, had passed one hundred sixty six years, and therefore supposing these persons, who are here

(p) *Ezra* iii. 8, 9. (q) *De Emendatione Temporum*, lib. 6. p. 603. & in *Animadversionibus ad Chronologica Eusebii* sub anno 1497. p. 97.

(r) *Par* lived to the age of 152. and *Jenkinson* to that of 169. See *Sir William Temple's Tracts*.

said to have seen the first Temple, and remembered the glory of it, had been then seven years old (which is the lowest that can be allowed for such a remembering) they must have been of the age of 173 in the second year of *Darius Nothus*. And who can think it likely, that many (as the Text seems to express) or any at all among the people should then be found of so great an age? *Scaliger* himself thinks this improbable, and therefore to evade the strength of the argument, which is from hence brought against him, he (s) would turn the words of the sacred Text to speak thus, *Ob! if any among you had seen the glory of the first House, &c.* But the Text will not bear this Interpretation. Fourthly, The Series of the Kings of *Persia*, as mentioned in *Ezra*, plainly makes the *Darius*, who granted this second Decree in favour of the *Jews*, to be the fourth, that reigned in that Empire, and the fourth King therein all agree was *Darius Hystaspis*. For after *Cyrus*, who was the first, succeeded *Cambyfes* the second, and after him was the *Magian* the third, and then was *Darius Hystaspis* the fourth. And in the same order are these Kings mentioned in *Ezra* in respect to the Temple and the rebuilding of it. For (t) he tells us, that during the reign of *Cyrus*, though he had granted a Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, yet the work was discouraged all his reign through the fraud of his officers corrupted by the bribes of the *Samaritans*; That in the beginning of the reign of *Abasuerus*, who next succeeded (i. e. *Cambyfes*) the King himself being wrote to discouraged the work, but made no Decree against it, out of respect it's supposed to his father's Decree, which was for it. But *Artaxerxes* the next that reigned (i. e. the *Magian*) having no such regard to what *Cyrus* had ordered made a Decree against the work, whereon it wholly ceased (which it had not done before) for the space

(s) De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 603.

(t) *Ezra* iv. 5, 6, 7.

of (u) two years until the second year of *Darius*. This *Darius* therefore must be *Darius Hystaspis*, and none other. For he it was, that was the fourth of those Kings, that reigned over the *Persian* Empire. And the Prophecy of *Daniel* (chap. xi.) helps to make this out. For there, (ver. 2.) the words are, *There shall stand up yet three Kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all, and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the Realm of Grecia.* By which it appears, that the four Kings here spoken of were those, who were to reign in *Persia*, after him that was then reigning. And he that was King of *Persia* at that time was *Cyrus*. And it is from the same words most manifest, that the fourth was *Xerxes*, and therefore according to this place of Scripture there were between *Cyrus* and *Xerxes* three Kings in *Persia*, and *Herodotus* and other Historians say the same, and thus name them, 1. *Cambyses*, 2. *Smerdis the Magian*, and 3. *Darius Hystaspis*; and therefore since the Scripture doth name in the same order after *Cyrus* these three as Kings of *Persia*, 1. *Abasuerus*, 2. *Artaxerxes*, and 3. *Darius*, no doubt were the same persons, and this *Darius* the third of them was he, that granted the second Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*. But against all this the short time, that was between the granting of the first Decree by *Cyrus*, and the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, is made an objection; and they being men of great name, who have thought it of weight, it must not be passed over without an answer, altho' otherwise it seems not worthy of any. They urge it thus. From the time of the granting

(u) So saith the writer of the first Apocryphal Book of *Eldras*, ver. 73. And altho' he be an Apocryphal writer, and is in most things, where he doth not translate from the Canonical Book of *Ezra*, very fabulous; yet in this particular he may well be supposed to deliver himself according to the received tradition of the age in which he lived, and the Histories then extant, and this was very ancient. For it's certain he wrote before *Josephus*, and an ancients evidence than this we cannot have from any writer since the Scriptures of the Old Testament concerning this matter.

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of Cyrus's Decree to the second of *Darius Hystaspis* were no more than sixteen years, and therefore if it were then, that the resuming of the work of the Temple gave occasion (*w*) for the searching of the Records for this Decree, and it were that *Darius*, who on the finding of the Decree granted a Confirmation of it, there would then have been no reason for any such search to have been made at all. For, say they, what need was there of searching of the Records for this Decree before its Confirmation, after so short a time as that of sixteen years? The thing might then have been well enough remembered, without going to the Records for the proof of it. *Darius Hystaspis* was himself (they proceed to argue) bred in *Cyrus's* Court, and therefore might himself well enough have remembered this thing, without ordering the Records to be searched for it; and if not, yet many of his Counsellors and Courtiers might. And therefore from hence they infer, that it could not be *Darius Hystaspis*, that granted this Decree, but it must necessarily have been another *Darius* reigning after him, in whose time the granting of *Cyrus's* Decree was grown to be a thing past the memory of man; and that could be none other than *Darius Notbus*. The whole therefore of this Argument goes upon this supposition, That publick Records are never to be appealed to, but for things past the memory of man; than which what can be more absurd? Can any that attend the *Chancery* here in *England* remember all the Grants and Decrees, that have passed the seals for sixteen years past? Can the Chancellor himself do this, if he hath been so long in Office? Or if any Decree be to be made upon the foundation of a former Decree, though passed but sixteen days before, will any Chancellor upon memory only seal that latter Decree or pass any thing in it, without having the former first laid before him? Although some may have a confused remembrance in

(*w*) Ezra vi.

general of some things there transacted even for sixteen years past, yet amidst the variety and multiplicity of business, which pass in such a Court, and where the quick Succession of new matters frequently crowd out of the mind all thoughts of all those that preceded; whose memory can be sufficient to be depended upon for an exact account of any thing there decreed without having recourse to the Records, where all is exactly set down and registred? And how can any thing be there rightly settled without it? And if this cannot be done for so small a Realm as this of *England*, how could it be done for so large and vast an Empire as that of *Persia*, (x) which was above forty times as large, and therefore must have afforded occasion for Grants and Decrees forty times as many. It's scarce possible to conceive how such a multitude of things, as must in this case have been decreed and granted for all that Empire, could have been all distinctly remembred by any one after a week past; and how much less after sixteen years? As to the memory of *Darius* himself, *Herodotus* (y) tells us, he was but twenty years old when *Cyrus* died, and therefore could not have been above fourteen when his Decree was granted for the return of the *Jews*; and what could he know or observe of it at that age? And as to the Courtiers of *Darius*, the argument is not at all stronger. For is every Courtier called to be witness of all the publick Acts and Decrees of the Kingdom? Do all such know whatever passeth the Royal Signature? Or rather are they not the fewest of all that observe or take notice of such matters? And if otherwise, yet doth not sixteen years usually make great Revolutions in Kings Courts, especially in those of Arbitrary Princes, where not only mens places, but also their lives depend

(x) *The Scriptures tell us, that it reached from India to Ethiopia, and contained in the time of Cyrus an hundred and twenty provinces, and afterwards seven more were added to them. See Daniel vi. 1. & Esther i. 1.* (y) *Herodotus, lib. 1. non longè à fine.*

wholly upon will and pleasure, as was most notoriously the case of the *Persian* Court at that time? *Cambyfes* who succeeded *Cyrus*, (z) cruelly, and wantonly upon freak, humour, and very trivial occasions only destroyed a great many of his father's officers. And after him reigned the *Magian*, who no doubt upon that Usurpation provided himself with such a new set of Officers and Attendants, as would best serve to support him in it, and conceal the Imposture, by which he reigned. And on his death there being a new Revolution, and a new King chosen, most likely this produced another change of Officers and Ministers at the Court, and by that time many must have gone off the Stage by natural death; so that whether any at all, that had been Officers in *Cyrus's* Court, when he granted his Decree in favour of the *Jews*, were in *Darius's* Court in the second year of his reign then to remember it, and give evidence thereof, is at best very uncertain; but it's most likely, that none of them were. And therefore nothing that is said from this head for the proving, that it could not be *Darius Hystaspis* that granted the Decree above-mentioned, can amount to as much as an argument of the lowest probability for it. But on the contrary they, who for the sake of this Argument put the granting of this Decree as low as the time of *Darius Notbus*, do thereby afford a much stronger Argument against themselves than this can be for them. For this will put the finishing of the second Temple at the distance of one hundred and eighteen years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the Decree of *Artaxerxes* made it cease? If they allow this *Artaxerxes* to be the third *Persian* King, as he is reckoned (a) in Scripture, that is the *Magian*, who reigned next after *Cambyfes*, then from the ceasing of the work to the resuming of it again will be full one hundred years; and in so long a time of intermission how could they so preserve the beams

(z) Herodot. lib. 3. (a) Ezra iv. 7.

from being rotten and the whole building from being so damaged and decayed, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very foundation? which it is certain they did not; for after the granting of the Decree for the proceeding of the work all was finished in a little more than three years time. But if they say it was not the *Magian*, who was the *Artaxerxes* in the Scriptures, that caused the work to cease, but he that is first named in the Catalogue which we have of the *Persian* Kings in Prophane Historians, that is *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; then from the beginning of the work to that ceasing of it will be seventy one years. And in this case it may be asked, how came it to pass, if they had so long been permitted to have gone on with the work, that in all that time it had not been finished? Neither of these Questions can be answered, and therefore taking either of these ways the Argument worketh strong against them, and farther proves that it could not be *Darius Notbus*, but that it must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, who granted the Decree, whereby the rebuilding of the second Temple was finished. And upon this supposition all will be easy, and free of difficulty, and the whole proceeding of the matter will be thus. *Cyrus* in the first year of his reign over the whole *Persian* Empire granted his Decree to the *Jews* for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*; for next year after they begun the work, and went on with it for about thirteen years, till the *Magian* caused it to cease. But two years after in the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, who slew the *Magian* and succeeded him in the Throne, it was on the preaching of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* again resumed, and about a year and half after they obtained a Decree from *Darius* to authorize them therein; and then in a little more than three years time after they finished the whole work. And thus far having shewn that the *Darius*, who granted the second Decree in favour of the *Jews*, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem* was

finished,

finished, could be none other than *Darius Hystaspis*, the remaining part of the Argument is, that therefore the seventy weeks of this Prophecy could not have their beginning from this Decree, which is demonstrated by the same reason, whereby it hath been above shewn, that they could not begin from the Decree of *Cyrus*, that is because the 490 years of these weeks reckoned from the granting of this Decree cannot reach the Chief Events, which are by this Prophecy predicted to fall within the Compass of them, that is the coming and the cutting off of the *Messiah*. For this Decree I reckon was brought to *Jerusalem* in the fourth year of *Darius*. The *Jews* indeed began again with the rebuilding of the Temple in the latter end of the second year of *Darius*, but they had no Decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. But from the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis* to the Death of Christ were five hundred and fifty years, and therefore reckoning the seventy weeks or their 490 years from thence, they will expire sixty years before the death of Christ, and twenty four years before the birth of Christ, and therefore can reach neither the cutting off of the *Messiah*, nor the coming of the *Messiah*, in any sense whatsoever that his coming can be taken in. And these two are the grand events predicted by this Prophecy, and it can never be rightly interpreted, but in the accomplishing of them. And it may be farther added on this head that this Decree of *Darius* seems not to accord or agree with the Description of that Commandment or Decree, which is mentioned in the Prophecy. For the words of the Text are, *From the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*, which plainly imply an Original Decree, which this of *Darius* was not. For it was no more than an (b) Exemplification and Confirmation of that which was before granted by *Cyrus*. And if it be not such a Decree as the Prophecy intended, it's

(b) Ezra vi.

certain the seventy Weeks or their 490 years cannot begin from thence.

3dly, Neither can the Computation of these Weeks be begun from the Decree granted to *Nehemiah* by *Artaxerxes* in the twentieth year of his reign. And in the clearing of this particular I must take the same method as in the former. For as there were three *Darius's*, so also were there three *Artaxerxes's*, which according to ancient Historians reigned over the Empire of the *Persians*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ocbus*. And therefore first it must be enquired, which of these three it was that granted this Decree, and then secondly it shall be shewn, that the Computation of these weeks cannot begin from it. And first as to which of these three *Artaxerxes's* it was, that granted this Decree to *Nehemiah*, it's certain it must be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who reigned immediately after *Xerxes* over the *Persian* Empire. For it was that *Artaxerxes*, who was contemporary with *Eliashib* the High-Priest of the *Jews*, he being High-Priest (c) at the time, when *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem* with this Decree, which was in the twentieth year of that King. But no other *Artaxerxes*, but he that was called *Longimanus*, could be contemporary with *Eliashib*, and therefore none other but he could be the *Artaxerxes* that granted this Decree. For the age, which *Joiakim* the father of *Eliashib* must then have been of at the time of his death, makes it utterly improbable, that it should be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and it would make it much more so, as to *Artaxerxes Ocbus*, who succeeded him. For supposing *Eliashib*, who was High-Priest in the twentieth year of that *Artaxerxes*, who granted this Decree to *Nehemiah*, had then been twenty years in that Office, his father *Joiakim*, if this *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, must then upon this supposition have died in the last year of *Darius Notbus*, at which time *Joiakim* must have

(c) Nehemiah iii. 1.

been at least one hundred fifty one years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in *Ezra*, that *Jeshua* (d) the father of *Joiakim* at the first return of the *Jews* to *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* Captivity (e) had sons of twenty years old and upward employed in the work of the Temple; and since the High-Priesthood among the *Jews* went by succession according to the Primogeniture, and *Joiakim* succeeded *Jeshua* in it, it cannot be doubted but that *Joiakim* was one of those his sons, who were thus employed, and the eldest of them; and if he were twenty years old at this time, he must then have been one hundred fifty one in the last of *Darius Nothus*. For (f) from the first of *Cyrus* to the last of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred thirty one years. The improbability of this sufficiently proves, that it could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, who granted this Decree to *Nehemiah*. And the improbability would be much greater, if we should suppose it to be *Artaxerxes Ochus*, who succeeded him; because then *Jeboiakim* must have been forty six years older. Besides there is this farther Argument, that *Artaxerxes Ochus* could not be the person, because in Scripture there is mention made of the (g) thirty second year of that *Artaxerxes* who granted this Decree to *Nehemiah*, but *Artaxerxes Ochus* reigned (h) only twenty one years in all. And if it were not *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, nor *Artaxerxes Ochus*, it must then necessarily follow, that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and none other, that granted the Decree to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of his reign. And thus far the first part of the Argument being cleared, the second is, That the Computation of the seventy weeks cannot be begun from this Decree, which will fully be manifested by the Calculation of the years. For reckoning from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the death of *Christ* there will be no more than 477 years, and therefore

(d) *Nehemiah* xii. 10, 22. (e) *Ezra* iii. 8, 9. (f) *Canon Ptol.*
 (g) *Nehemiah* xiii. 6. (h) *Canon. Ptol.*

if the 490 years of the seventy weeks be computed from thence, they will overshoot the death of *Christ* thirteen years, which being the grand event to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, it is certain they can never there have their beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this ending.

But several great and learned men having a particular Fancy to begin the Computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* notwithstanding this objection, they have devised several ways and methods for the removal of it, and the reconciling the ending of these weeks, as calculated from this beginning, with the time of the events predicted.

The first way, which hath been proposed for this purpose, is to reckon the seventy weeks or the 490 years of this Prophecy by Lunar years; and this hath been of a very ancient date, for it hath *Africanus* for its Author, who flourished in the beginning of the third Century; and he is followed by *Theodoret*, *Bedae*, *Zonaras*, *Rupertus*, and others; and the generality of the *Romish* Doctors strike in with this opinion; into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar *Latin* Translation, which they have decreed in their *Trentine* Council to be Authentic. For instead of what we read in the beginning of the Prophecy, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, &c.* this Translation renders it, *Septuaginta Hebdomades abbreviate sunt super populum tuum*, i. e. *Seventy weeks are abbreviated upon thy People*; from whence they argue, this abbreviation of the years must be either in the number, or their quality; it cannot be in their number. For the Text absolutely determines that to seventy weeks of years, that is 490 years, and therefore it must be in their quality or form, that is they must be Lunar years, which are short years, and not Solar years, which are longer years. But the *Hebrew* word *Nechtac* in the Text will not bear this interpretation. For the true meaning or signification

of it in that place is, *Are decided or determined*, as in our *English* version; and in this sense it is used in the (i) *Chaldee* Paraphrase, and no where in any other. I confess the word doth not occur any where else in the whole *Hebrew* Bible, or any other word of that root, and in the *Septuagint* it is rendred *συωτεμῆθησαν*. But this is not sufficient to justify either the meaning, which they would put upon the word, or the inference, which they would deduce from it; and if it could, the difficulty would not be removed by it. For Lunar years would carry us beyond the mark, as well as Solar years fall short of it. For whereas the 477 Solar years, which were from the 20th year of *Artaxarxes Longimanus* to the death of *Christ* fall thirteen years short of the 490 years, at the end of which this Prophecy doth put it; the same 477 years, when converted into Lunar years making 491 years and 246 days over, do carry us one year and 246 days (which is a great part of another year) beyond the said 490 years. And therefore this way of Computation doth by no means adjust the difference, but still leaves it wide of an agreement, altho' not so wide as it was before. Besides, when *Daniel* had this Prophecy revealed unto him by the Angel *Gabriel*, there was not any form of a year purely Lunar then any where in use. The *Chaldean* year at that time was most certainly the *Narbonassarean* year (k) consisting of 365 days, and the (l) *Egyptian* year was the same, and so was also (m) the *Persian*. The (n) *Jews* indeed had their common years purely Lunar consisting of twelve Lunar Months, and so had (o) the *Greeks*, only with this difference, that whereas the *Jews* Lunar Months were strictly Lunar, as being observed by the phasis,

(i) In *Esther* iv. 5. (k) Vide *Scaligerum*, *Petavium*, aliosque.
 (l) Vide *Marshami Canonem Chronicum* p. 245. Edit. *Lips.*
 (m) *Q. Curtius* lib. 3. cap. 3. (n) *Talmud* in *Rosh Hashanah*.
Maimonides in *Kiddosh Hachodesh*. *Marshami Canon. Chron.*
 p. 290, 291. Edit. *Lips.* (o) *Scaliger de Emendatione Tem-*
porum, lib. 1, cap. de *Anno*. *Marshami Canon. Chron.* p. 657,
 658, 659.

the *Greeks* mistaking a Lunar Month to consist exactly of thirty days, in compounding of their year of twelve of them made it amount to 360 days, which exceeded its true Astronomical measure almost six days. But besides the common years they had also intercalated years intermixed with the common years, which reduced all to the solar form. For what was defective of it in the common years was restored in the intercalated years. And this the *Jews* as well as the *Greeks* were necessitated to by their festivals. For the *Nisan* of the *Jewish* year (*p*) which begun their Ecclesiastical year, being pinn'd down by their Passover (which was always celebrated (*q*) in the middle of it) to the (*r*) time of the beginning of their Harvest; and the Month of *Tifri*, (*s*) which begun their civil year, being likewise pinn'd down by the feast of *Tabernacles* (which was always celebrated (*t*) in the middle of that Month) to the time (*u*) of the ending of their vintage, this necessitated them (*x*) to sling in an intercalary Month, whenever their year fell short of these seasons. And the *Greeks* were likewise necessitated to do the same thing for the sake of their festivals, especially for the sake of their *Olympiads*. For the fixed time for their celebrating of those Games being (*y*) the first full moon after the Summer Solstice, it always fell within the compass of one Lunar Moon either sooner or later in the Solar year, and there being just four years between

(*p*) Maimonides, *ibid.* Exod. xii. 2. Josephus *Antiq.* lib. 1. c. 4.
 (*q*) Exod. xii. 18. Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. xxviii. 16. (*r*) Levit. xxiii. 10. Deuteron. xvi. 9. (*s*) Exod. xxiii. 16. Talmud in Tract. Rosh Hashanah. (*t*) Levit. xxiii. 34, 39. Numb. xxix. 12.
 (*u*) Exod. xxiii. 16. Levit. xxiii. 39. Deuteron. xvi. 9.
 (*x*) Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddosh Hachodesh, Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 2. cap. de Anno veterum Hebræorum Autumnali. Josephus lib. 1. cap. 4. Marsham Canon. Chron. p. 190. Edit. Lips. (*y*) Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. cap. de Anno, & cap. de Periodo Olympica; & Petavium de Doctrina Temporum in Paralip. p. 830. Et Rationar. Temp. Part. 2. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Olympiad and *Olympiad*, this necessarily made these years to be solar years; and Cycles and Rules of intercalation were invented of purpose to bring them to it; and the same is to be said of all other Nations, which used the like form. Although they might measure their Months by the motion of the Moon, they always regulated their years according to that of the Sun. The *Arabs* indeed from the time of *Mahomet* have used a year purely Lunar, and the *Turks* do the same in imitation of them, and so do all others of their Sect. But of the Ancients we find none that followed this form. All among them that had Lunar years, had also intercalated years to make amends for their defects; and therefore whatsoever any of their years might be in their singular numbers, they were always Solar in their collective Sums. And who can think then that in the collective Sum of seventy weeks or the 490 years of them the Angel should intend a Computation, which was then nowhere in practice the whole world over? This Prophecy concerning principally the *Jews* and being written to them (for it is in the *Hebrew*, which was the *Jews* language, and not in the *Chaldee*, as some other parts of *Daniel* are) it is most likely that the computation of the time mentioned therein should be according to the *Jewish* form and none other. And there is one argument, which I think undeniably proves it to be so. The weeks of years, by which the time of this prophecy is computed, are plainly and manifestly the same with the Sabbaths of years mentioned *Leviticus* xxv. 8. and therefore must be reckoned by the same sort of years; but it's certain, that those Sabbaths of years were reckoned by Solar years, and therefore these weeks of years must be so too. That these Sabbaths of years were reckoned by Solar years is manifest. For they all begun from the first of *Tisri*, which was pinn'd down by the feast of Tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to a certain season of the year (as hath been already observed) and from that season in

one

one year to the same season in another can only be measured by the Course of the Sun. And all this put together sufficiently shews that Lunar years are not the years, which this Prophecy is to be computed by.

Another way taken for the reconciling of this difference is by beginning the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* nine years sooner, than where it is above placed, and ending the said seventy weeks three years and a half later, that is by putting the death of *Christ* into the middle of the last week, and continuing the remainder of that week beyond it. For according to this account the first year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* will fall in the year of the *Julian* Period 4241, and his 20th year in the year of the *Julian* Period 4260, from which numbring sixty-nine weeks and an half, it will carry down the Computation to the year of the *Julian* Period 4746, which was the very year in which *Christ* suffered. And thus far *Petavius* and *Archbishop Usher* agree as to the time both of the beginning and ending of the Prophecy, but they differ in one circumstance about the beginning, that is whether this 20th year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence they both reckon this beginning, and which they both put in the same year of the *Julian* period, were his 20th year from the death of *Xerxes* his Father, or his 20th year from the time, when it's supposed he was admitted to reign in Copartnership with him, nine years before.

For (z) *Petavius* supposeth, that *Xerxes* nine years before his death admitted his Son *Artaxerxes* to reign in Copartnership with him, and that from this admission is to be computed the 20th year of his reign, in which he issued out the Decree, from whence the first year of this Prophecy did commence. And he builds this supposition chiefly upon the Authority of *Thucydides*, (a) who tells us, that *Themistocles* in his flight into *Persia* addressed himself to *Artaxerxes* then

(z) *Rationar. Temp. Part. 2. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 154. Et De Doctrina Temporum lib. 12. c. 32. & seqq.* (a) *Lib. 1.*

newly reigning. But *Diodorus Siculus* (b) tells us, that *Themistocles* fled into *Persia* in the 2d year of the 77th Olympiad, several years before the death of *Xerxes*, and therefore to reconcile these two Authors *Petavius* infers, that *Artaxerxes* must have been admitted to reign with his father several years before his death, and these years he determines to nine, because this will best serve his purpose. And to support this supposition, he insists on the usage anciently in practice among the *Persian* Kings of naming their Successors, before they went to any dangerous war, and will have it, that when *Xerxes* (c) again renewed the war against the *Greeks* after the death of *Pausanias*, he then named *Artaxerxes* according to this usage, in the same manner as his father had named him on the like Occasion, and took him into copartnership with him in the Government of the Empire. But there is nothing in the History of those times, that can give any Countenance to this conjecture. (d) *Herodotus* indeed tells us of such a usage among the *Persians*, as is above mentioned, but this was only to name a Successor, not to take a Partner into the Government, and this according to that usage was then only to be done, when there was a controversy about the Succession, as was the case when *Darius* named *Xerxes* his Successor in his life-time. But we are told of no such Controversy about the Succession in *Xerxes's* time. And it is plain from the passage in *Thucydides*, where the words are, on which the main stress of *Petavius's* Opinion is laid, that he there speaks of *Artaxerxes*, as then newly reigning after his Father's death; and till his Father's death he could scarce be of an age proper for the receiving of such an address, as *Themistocles* is said then to have made unto him. For he was but a (e) lad, when his Father died, and therefore must have been a meer child,

(b) Lib. 11. (c) Justin. lib. 2. c. 15. Thucydides lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone. (d) Lib. 7. in initio libri. (e) Justin. lib. 3. c. 1. Diodorus Sic. lib. 11.

when according to this reckoning *Themistocles* came into *Persia*. And if he were admitted to be Successor, and also Partner in the Empire before his elder Brother *Darius* upon the same reason, that *Xerxes* was before his elder Brother *Artabasan*, that is because he was born after his Father came to be King, and the other before, it must follow then, that in the second year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, when *Diodorus Siculus* tells us *Themistocles* came to the *Persian Court*, he could be at the most but fourteen years old. For (f) *Xerxes* began his reign but fourteen years before. And there are besides many other inconsistencies in this opinion, but what hath been said is sufficient to shew, that it can afford no sure foundation for the solution of any part of this Prophecy upon it.

And therefore (g) *Archbishop Usher* takes the other way, and although he placeth the 20th year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the same year that *Petavius* doth, in order to the solution of this Prophecy, yet he doth not compute it any otherwise than from the death of *Xerxes* his Father; so that he anticipates the true twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the same manner as *Petavius* doth, tho' not by joining him in Copartnership with his Father, but by putting him in due succession after him, nine years sooner than either *Ptolemy* or any other Author doth; and the same Testimony of *Thucydides*, which is above-mentioned, is the ground which he goes upon for it. And therefore to reconcile this Testimony with the time assigned by *Diodorus Siculus* for the flight of *Themistocles*, which is above mentioned, he puts the death of *Xerxes*, and the succession of his son *Artaxerxes*, nine years higher up than any other writer doth; and to patch this up takes nine years from the reign of *Xerxes* and adds them to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* his son, contracting the

(f) Canon Ptolemæi.
sub Anno J. P. 4259.

(g) In Annalibus veteris Testamenti

former to twelve years, and enlarging the latter with that of his son (b) *Xerxes* to fifty. In allowing no other beginning to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than from the death of his Father, the most learned Archbishop is most certainly in the right. For all those among the ancients, who put the flight of *Themistocles* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, suppose it to be after the death of his Father, but in no other particular can this opinion be justified. For 1st, in contracting the reign of *Xerxes* to twelve years, and enlarging that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* and his son *Xerxes* to fifty, he goes contrary to all that have wrote of those times, whether ancients or moderns; and especially to *Ptolemy*, who in his Canon assigns twenty-one years to *Xerxes*, and no more than forty and one to *Artaxerxes*, (b) including the short reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* his sons in the last of them. And altho' the authority of *Thucydides* be great, and (i) *Plutarch* tells us, that he hath *Charon of Lampsacus* also on his side, yet the same *Plutarch* from a great number of other ancient writers, and of as good authority, concludes the contrary. But 2^{dly}, although the authority of *Thucydides* and *Charon of Lampsacus* should be allowed to be uncontestible, and all other authorities must be set aside to make place for theirs; yet this will not infer, that the beginning of the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* must therefore be put nine years higher, than all others have put it, since the matter may be as well adjusted by bringing the flight of *Themistocles* nine years lower; and this way (k) Mr. *Dodwell* hath followed, and it is much the better of the two. For this only lays aside the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*,

(b) *Xerxes the son of Artaxerxes Longimanus* reigned after his Father's death only 45 days, and *Sogdianus* another of *Artaxerxes's* Sons who succeeded his Brother, reigned no more than six months and fifteen days, so the time of both their reigns amounting to no more than eight months, they are in the Canon of *Ptolemy* cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and neither of them is therein made mention of. (i) *Plutarchus* in *Themistocle*. (k) In *Annalibus Thucydidis*.

who

who fixeth the flight of *Themistocles* to the year above-mentioned; whereas the other runs counter to that of all others, that have wrote of the matter, which it relates to. But that, which looks hardest in this opinion, is for the sake of any Historical writer to lay aside the Authority of *Ptolemy's* Canon, which is built upon Astronomical Demonstrations. Although *Thucydides* be a grave Author, and of uncontestable authority in those matters of the *Peloponnesian* war, which he writes of; (for they were done in his time, and he was near at hand to be well informed of them, and he himself was an accurate observer;) yet it's possible he might be mistaken in what he tells us of the *Persian* Affairs, which were done at a distance (as this was) and before his time. For he was just born (1) when this flight of *Themistocles* hapned. But *Ptolemy's* Canon being fixed by the Eclipses, the Truth of it may at any time be demonstrated by Astronomical Calculations, and no one hath ever calculated those Eclipses, but hath found them fall right in the times where placed, and therefore this being the surest guide, which we have in the Chronology, and it being also verified by its agreement every where with the Holy Scriptures, it is not for the Authority of any other human writing whatsoever to be receded from.

And as these two great men have been thus far out in placing the beginning of these seventy weeks, so have they been no less mistaken in the fixing the end of them. For to make up the thirteen years which this reckoning fell short of, they have not only anticipated the beginning of these weeks nine years, but have also cut them short three years and an half in the ending, by placing the death of *Christ*

(1) According to Aulus Gellius *Thucydides* was 40 years old, when the *Peloponnesian* war began. (A. Gellius lib. 14. c. 23.) And the *Peloponnesian* war beginning towards the end of the first year of the 87th Olympiad, reckoning 40 years upward from thence, the first of them will end in the very year, in which *Diodorus* tells us *Themistocles* made his flight, i. e. in the second year of the 77th Olympiad.

in the middle of the last week, and there concluding this part of the Prophecy three years and an half before these seventy weeks are fully compleated, which hath this great objection against it, that it drops the latter half part of the last week as void, and of no significancy. But no word of God is given in vain; every part of it hath its significancy, and every word of Prophecy therein contained must have its completion. For what our (m) Saviour saith of the Law is also true of the Prophets, and as not one jot or tittle of the former was to pass without being fulfilled; so neither can any one jot or tittle of the latter ever pass away without being accomplished. And therefore every part of the last week of this Prophecy, that is the last half part, as well as the first half part, must have its significancy, and also its completion, and accordingly, every part of it had, as well as all the rest, as shall be hereafter shewn.

By all this it appears, that none of those ways, which have been taken for the computing of these seventy weeks from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* can make it agree with the Prophecy, and therefore it cannot be begun from thence. That which hath made so many fond of beginning the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of this King, and the issuing out of the Commission then granted by him to *Nebemiab*, is the agreeableness, which they think is between the Prophecy and this Commission, beyond what they find in any of the three other Grants or Commissions above mentioned. For the Prophecy placeth the beginning of the seventy weeks at the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build *Jerusalem*, and afterwards makes mention of the building of the streets and the walls thereof, and both these say they were rebuilt by *Nebemiab*, by virtue of the grant made to him in the twentieth year of this *Artaxerxes*. To this

(m) Matth. v. 18.

I answer; 1st, That *Ezra* thirteen years before this Grant made to *Nebemiab* (*n*) speaks of a wall in *Jerusalem* given to the *Jews* by the favour of the King of *Persia*, and therefore this if literally taken may imply, that the Grant made to *Ezra* included a Licence or Commission to build such a wall, as well as that made to *Nebemiab*. But if it be said, that the wall mentioned by *Ezra* in the place, which I refer to, is to be taken figuratively (as I acknowledge it is) my reply hereto is: And why may not then the word *wall* in the Prophecy be taken figuratively also, there being as much reason for it in the one place, as there is in the other? But 2^{dly}, There is no such word as the *wall* to be found in the original Text of the Prophecy. For what we there render in our *English* Translation *the Wall* is in the *Hebrew* Original *the Ditch*. 3^{dly}, That tho' *Nebemiab* did much enlarge *Jerusalem* by bringing new Colonies of the *Jews* thither out of the Country, and obliging them to build themselves Houses and dwell there, yet this enlarging of the City cannot be called the restoring and rebuilding of it. For it was restored and rebuilt long before, and had many streets and (*o*) cieled Houses again erected in it by virtue of the Decree granted by *Cyrus*, as hath been above shewn. And after that from time to time many more were added to them by virtue of the same Decree confirmed by *Darius Hystaspis* many years before *Nebemiab* came to be Governor of *Judea*. 4^{thly}, The rebuilding or repairing of the Walls of *Jerusalem* accomplished by *Nebemiab* was a work (*p*) but of fifty two days, and the enlarging of *Jerusalem* with new Colonies (*q*) was within a year after, but the restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem* predicted by the Prophecy was to be a work of seven weeks, or forty nine years, and so long first *Ezra*, and after *Nebemiab*, laboured successively

(*n*) *Ezra* ix. 9.

(*o*) *Haggai* i. 4.

(*p*) *Nehemiah* vi. 15.

(*q*) *Nehemiah* vii.

in the work of restoring and rebuilding the Church and State of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, as will hereafter be shewn. And therefore of this restoring and rebuilding only can the Prophecy be understood.

And thus far having shewn, that the Commandment or Decree mentioned in the Prophecy, for the restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, cannot be understood either of the Decree of *Cyrus*, or of that of *Darius*, or of that granted to *Nehemiah* in the 20th year of *Artaxerxes*, it remains, that it must then be understood of that granted to *Ezra* by the same *Artaxerxes* in the seventh year of his reign, and of none other. For besides the three Commandments or Decrees above-mentioned, there was no other Commandment or Decree ever granted by any of the Kings of *Persia*, for the restoration of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* Captivity, but this only, that was granted to *Ezra*. And therefore if it cannot be understood of any of the other three, it must then necessarily be this fourth, and none other. And from thence to the death of *Christ*, are exactly four hundred and ninety years to a month. For in the month *Nisan* was the Decree granted to *Ezra*, and (r) in the middle of the same month *Nisan* *Christ* suffered, just four hundred and ninety years after.

VI. And thus much being said for the fixing of the beginning and ending of these seventy weeks, it remains that for the fuller explication of all other particulars, that are in this Prophecy contained, I farther observe that the whole of it, as delivered to us in the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th verses of the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*, contains three Branches or Parts. The first foretells Events to be accomplished within seventy weeks in general, and to be fully compleated and brought to pass at the end of them; the

(r) For *Christ* was crucified in the beginning of the Jewish *Passover*, and that always begun in the middle of the month *Nisan*.

second, Events to be accomplished precisely at the end of three particular Periods, into which the said general number of seventy weeks is divided; and the third, Events to be brought to pass after the Expiration of the said seventy weeks in the times immediately following thereupon.

I. The first branch or part of this Prophecy is that, which is contained in the 24th verse, and foretells the six events above-mentioned, which were to be accomplished within the said seventy weeks in general, and to be fully compleated and brought to pass at the end of them.

II. The second branch or part of this Prophecy is that which is contained in the 25th verse, and in the former part of the 26th verse, and in the former part of the 27th verse. This divides the general number of seventy weeks into three particular Periods, and assigns particular Events to be precisely accomplished at the end of each of them. These three particular Periods are seven weeks, sixty two weeks, and one week, that is 49 years, 434 years, and seven years; and the particular events to be accomplished at the end of each of them are, 1st, The restoring and building of the Street and Ditch of *Jerusalem* in troublous times; 2^d, The coming of the *Messiah*, and 3^d, His confirming of the covenant of the Gospel with many of the *Jews* for one week, his causing Sacrifice and Oblation to cease in the half of that week, and his being cut off at the end thereof. And therefore applying these particular events to their proper Periods, the Prophecy will be clearly thus. That numbring the said seventy weeks from the going forth of the Commandment or Decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, (that is to restore and establish the Church and State of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*) there should be first seven weeks of that number, that is forty nine years, and then the said Church and State (here figuratively expressed by the Streets of the City) should be thoroughly reformed and restored, and

all such (s) good Constitutions and Establishments (here figuratively expressed by the Ditch) should be made and settled, as should be necessary for the fortifying and preserving of the same, and that all this should be done in troublous times, and amidst great opposition from enemies. That after sixty and two weeks from the end of the said seven weeks, that is 434 years, the *Messiah* should come. And that after this having for one week, the last of the said seventy weeks, (that is for the space of seven years) confirmed the Covenant of the Gospel with many of the *Jews*, he should in the half part of that week (that is in the latter half part of it) cause the Sacrifices and Oblations of the Temple to cease, and in the conclusion of the whole, that is in the precise ending of the said seventy weeks, be cut off and die. And accordingly all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to pass.

1st, As to the Period of seven weeks, it must be acknowledged, that the particular event of restoring and building of *Jerusalem* with its Streets and Ditch in troublous times (by which I understand the restoring and settling of the Church and State of the *Jews*) is not distinctly applied thereto in the Prophecy. For in the end of the 25th verse both the two first Periods being mentioned together, *i. e.* that of the seven weeks, and that of the sixty two weeks, the event of restoring and building of *Jerusalem* with its Street and Ditch is subjoined to both of them without any distinct application to either; but the words immediately following in the next verse appropriating the time of the *Messiah* to the Period of

(s) *It is a celebrated saying among the Jews, and of ancient date among them (For it is in Pirke Aboth, which is one of the Tracts in their Mishna) That the Constitutions of their Elders are an Hedge to the Law, that is to fence, preserve, and keep it from being broken in upon, and violated. But a Ditch is as much made use of for a Fence, as is an Hedge; and therefore the Constitutions which fence the Law from being violated, may be figuratively expressed by the one, as well as by the other.*

sixty

sixty two weeks, this necessarily leaves the other, that is the restoring and building of *Jerusalem* with its Streets and Ditch, to be appropriated to the Period of seven weeks. And accordingly within the compass of the said Period of seven weeks or forty nine years this event was accomplished, in the full restoring and establishing of the Church and State of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* Captivity. For this was begun by *Ezra* by virtue of that Commandment or Decree, which was granted to him for it in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, and afterwards carried on by *Nebemiah* by virtue of another Decree granted to him for this purpose by the same *Artaxerxes* in the 20th year of his reign. And from the beginning of this Restoration of the Church and State of the *Jews* by *Ezra*, to the ending and perfecting of it by *Nebemiah* in that last Act of this Reformation, which is spoken of in the 13th of *Nebemiah* (that is from the 23d verse to the end of the Chapter) were forty nine years, as will be clearly made out in its proper place in the sequel of this History. For during all that time this work was a carrying on, and the great opposition, which these two good men met with herein, not only from the *Samaritans*, and other Enemies abroad; but also from false Brethren, and wicked men at home, who hated all reformation, was the true cause that it was so long a doing; and that there were such oppositions in the doing of it, this sufficiently verifieth the Prophecy in its prediction, that it was to be done in troublous times. And it is observable, that at the same juncture of time, where the Restoration of the Jewish Church and State ended, there the Holy Scriptures of the old Testament do end also. For this last Reformation of *Nebemiah*, which I have mentioned, and where I place the full completion of the said Restoration, is the last Act which is recorded therein, and therefore this ending of the Period is of sufficient remark for this reason, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in

the Prophecy, which can scarce be said of any other, that is assigned for it. And

2dly, From these seven weeks, or forty nine years, reckoning sixty two weeks, or four hundred thirty four years more, (which is the Term of the second Period) this will lead us down to the coming of *Christ the Messiah*, who is here in the Prophecy predicted to come at the end of the said sixty two weeks. For the words of the Prophecy are, *From the going forth of the Commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks*, that is there shall be seven weeks for the compleating and finishing of the work, for which that Commandment or Decree was granted, and from thence sixty two weeks more to the coming of *Christ the Messiah* here intended, that is to the time of his first appearance on the Ministry of the Gospel. For his coming here predicted must be interpreted either of his coming at his birth, or of his coming on his Ministry. No one saith it of the former, neither will the Term of years predicted of it ever meet it there. And therefore it must be understood of the latter, that is his coming and first appearing in his Ministry, and here the years predicted in the Prophecy will exactly find it. For the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence these weeks do begin, being coincident with the year of the *Julian Period* 4256, if we reckon from thence seven weeks and sixty two weeks, that is sixty nine weeks, or 483 years, this will lead us down to the year of the *Julian Period* 4739, which was the very year in which the Ministry of the Gospel first began. This *Christ* executed at first, and therein made his appearance as the *Messiah*, by his forerunner *John the Baptist* for the space of three years and an half, and after that by himself in his own person for three years and an half more. And these two being put together make up the last week of this Prophecy, which begun exactly at the ending of the said sixty two weeks. And therefore here this Prophecy con-

concerning the coming of *the Messiah* had its completion. St. *Luke* (*t*) tells us *The word of God first came to John in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar Emperor of Rome.* And from the coming of that word to *John*, and his preaching of it to the *Jews*, (*u*) was the beginning of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, and the first appearance of his Kingdom here on Earth. And this *Christ* himself tells us. For his words are (*Luke xvi. 16.*) *The Law and the Prophets were until John, since that the Kingdom of God is preached.* That is, the Jewish Oeconomy under the Law and the Prophets lasted until the coming of *John*, and his preaching of the Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. But from the time of his coming on this ministry, which was the ministry of the Gospel, the Kingdom of *the Messiah* began. For as in the Gospel of St. *Matthew* by the Kingdom of Heaven, so here by the Kingdom of God (*x*) is meant the Kingdom of *the Messiah*, the Church of *Christ*, which he hath here established among us. And therefore this Kingdom thus beginning with the preaching of *John*, there must we necessarily place the first coming of that King, *Christ our Lord*, who founded this his Kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been said, in the 15th year of the reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*. But here it is to be observ'd, that this fifteenth year of *Tiberius* could not be his fifteenth year from the death of *Augustus* his Predecessor. For then there would have been but four years for the ministry of *John the Baptist*, and the personal ministry of *Jesus Christ* put both together, which time would have been too narrow a space for the actings, which are recorded of them in the Gospel. Besides in so short a time, as must be allowed to the ministry of *John* in this case, it is not likely, that he could have acquired that great fame, as appears not only (*y*) by

(*t*) Chap. iii. 1. 2. (*u*) Mark i. 1. (*x*) Vide Grotii Annotationes in secundum caput Matthæi, & Lightfooti Horas Hebraicas ad eundem locum. (*y*) Matth. iii. and xiv. 5. and xxi. 26.

the Gospels, but also from the writing (z) of *Josephus* the Historian, that he had obtained, not only in *Judæa*, and *Galilee*, but also through all the circumjacent Regions before his death. The fifteenth year therefore of the reign of *Tiberius*, (a) in which *John the Baptist* began to preach, must be reckoned from that time when he began to reign jointly with *Augustus*, and was according to (b) *Velleius Paterculus* and (c) *Suetonius* admitted by him into copartnership with him in the Empire; and by a Law (which *Augustus* caused to be proposed and enacted by the Consuls) had conferred on him an equal power in the Government of the Provinces with *Augustus* himself. For from that time the publick Acts went in his name, as well as in that of *Augustus*, especially in the imperial Provinces, (d) of which *Syria* was one. And therefore from that time the years of his reign were reckoned in those Provinces. And this hapned, (e) as the most learned *Archbishop Usher* observes, in the year of the *Julian* Period 4725, and the 15th year from thence brings us to the year of the *Julian* Period 4739, in which (as is above noted) the word of God came to *John the Baptist*, and the preaching of the Gospel first began. And then it was, that *Christ* by this his forerunner manifested his coming, and made his first appearance in that great work of our Salvation, on which he was sent. And from the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when the Commandment went forth from that King for the restoring of the Church and State of the *Jews*, to this time, were just seven weeks and sixty two weeks,

(z) *Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.* (a) *Luke iii. 1.* (b) *Lib. 2. cap. 121. ubi verba faciens de Tiberio hæc habet. Senatus populusque Romanus postulante patre ejus (sc. Augusto) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus Provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, Decreto complexus est.* (c) *In Tiberio c. 21. ubi de Tiberio dicit — Lege per Consules latâ, ut Provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est.* (d) *Dio Cassius.* (e) *In Annalibus sub Anno J. P. 4725.*

that is sixty-nine weeks, or 483 years in all, exactly as this Prophecy predicted.

3dly, From this coming of our Saviour began the third Period of these seventy weeks, that is the one week, which is spoken of in the 27th verse, the events whereof as there predicted are, that *for that week the Messiah should confirm the Covenant with many, and in the half part thereof* (for (f) thus it ought to be rendred, where in our *English* Translation we read *the midst*) *should cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease*; and so accordingly it came to pass. For during these seven years of his Evangelical Ministry he did first by his Forerunner, (g) the Messenger, whom he had sent before him, and then by himself in his personal Ministry confirm the Covenant of the Gospel with many of the *Jews*, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then in the half part of the said week, that is in the last half part thereof, when he appeared in his own person in the same Ministry, on which *John* was sent before him, he caused the sacrifices and the oblations of the Temple to cease, that is first by his preaching of the Gospel, which was to supersede them, and then lastly by that great sacrifice of himself, which he once offered for all in his death upon the Cross at the end of this week, whereby they were all absolutely and finally extinguished for ever. For all other sacrifices and oblations till then being only Antetypes, and figurative Representations of this great sacrifice after to be offered, and of no virtue or efficacy, but as they referred to it, when this was offered all others vanished of course, as the Representative doth at the appearance of the Principal, or the Type or Figure at the presence of the thing that is typified or expressed by it; and the Virtue and Propitiation of this one Sacrifice hath sufficed for all ever since. The whole latter part of

(f) *The word in the original Hebrew is Chatzi, which signifieth the half part, and not the midst.* (g) Malachi iii. 1. Matth. xi. 10. Luke i. 76. and vii. 27.

the last week being the time of *Christ's* personal ministry here on Earth, as the whole of it was employed in the Preaching of the Gospel, which was to cause the Law to cease, so the whole of it may very properly be said to be employed in causing all those sacrifices and oblations to cease, which the Law enjoined, tho' the whole was not compleated, till at the end of this half part by his death and passion. For then at the offering up of this great sacrifice the virtue and efficacy of all others ceased for ever. But here it may be objected, that my placing the death of *Christ* at the end of this last Period is against the exprefs words of the Prophecy. For that placeth the cutting off of the *Messiah* at the end of the second Period, that is of the sixty-two weeks. For the words of it are (verse 26th) *After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off.* To this I answer, the word *after* in this place cannot be understood to mean strictly the time immediately after, but in a large and indefinite sense to denote the whole next week which after followed. For otherwise his coming and his cutting off must have hapned at the same time both together, and no intermediate space would have been left for his ministry. For in the verse preceeding it is positively said, *that from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince should be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks*, and therefore if at the end of the same sixty-two weeks he should be cut off also, then his coming and his cutting off must have hapned both together at the same time, and the consequence, which I have mentioned, must necessarily follow, *i. e.* that no intermediate space would have then been left for his ministry, which cannot be said. The word *after* must therefore mean the whole week after, at the end of which *Christ*, the *Messiah* named in that Prophecy, was cut off by his death on the cross. And there is no need of expressing it otherwise in that place, because the cutting off and death of the *Messiah* had been exactly deter-

determined to that time by what was said before in the 24th verse. For it is manifest, that according to the true intent and meaning of that Part of the Prophecy his death must be there placed. For according to that it must be there placed, where it placeth the events, that were to be accomplished and brought to pass by it; but the events, which were to be accomplished and brought to pass by the cutting off of the *Messiah*, are by that part of the said Prophecy (ver. 24.) placed at the end of the seventy weeks, and consequently at the end of the last of them, and therefore the cutting off of the *Messiah* must there be placed also, and there it accordingly hapned in the death and passion of *Christ* our Saviour, and this part of the Prophecy was exactly fulfilled by it.

The whole therefore of this second part or branch of the Prophecy is thus; the seventy weeks being divided into three Periods, that is into seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week, the first reacheth from the time of the going forth of the commandment to *Ezra* for the restoring of the Church and State of the *Jews* in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the finishing of that work by *Nehemiah* forty-nine years after; The second, from the end of that Period to the coming of the *Messiah* 434 years after; and the last from that his coming to his cutting off by his death on the Cross, which was one week or seven years after. And all these put together fully make up the seventy weeks, or the 490 years of this Prophecy, and according to this computation every particular of it hath been fully verified in a completion exactly agreeable thereto, and the whole number of years pointed out thereby exactly answered to a month. For as the going out of the Commandment to *Ezra*, from whence they began, was in the month of *Nisan*, so the crucifixion of *Christ* was also in the same month, just 490 years after.

III. After

III. After what is predicted of these three Periods follows the third Branch or Part of the Prophecy, which is contained in the latter end of the 26th, and in the latter end of the 27th verses, and foretells events to be brought to pass after the Expiration of the said seventy weeks in the times immediately following thereupon, that is *the destruction of the City and Sanctuary by the people of the Prince, that was to come*, who with their Armies and desolating Abominations should invade *Judæa*, as with a flood, and by a terrible and consuming war bring utter ruin and desolation upon it, and all the people of the *Jews*, that should dwell therein, and consummate the same upon them in an absolute destruction. All which accordingly came to pass, and did in a very signal manner verify the Prophecy in a full completion of every particular hereof. For on the end of these seventy weeks, which were determined upon that People, and their holy City, they having slain the Lord of life, they were thereon cast off by God from being his peculiar People, and the Gentiles were called in their stead, so that thenceforth they were no more his People, nor their City *Jerusalem* any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and destined to utter ruin and destruction. For immediately on their having executed the sentence of death upon *Christ* our Lord, this (*b*) sentence of condemnation passed upon them, and from that time all second causes operated towards the hastening the execution of it, till at length the *Roman Armies, the people that were to come*, under the command of *Titus their Prince*, invaded them as with a Torrent, and begirt *Jerusalem* with their ensigns, *the Abomination of Desolation* (*i*) which our Saviour from this Prophecy forewarns his Disciples of. For (*k*) they were Idolatrous Images

(*b*) *Christ foreknowing the wickedness, foretells that this sentence should be thereon passed upon them for it, and accordingly be executed.* Matth. xiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. (*i*) Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. (*k*) Vide Grotii Annotationes ad 24 Cap. Matthæi com. 15.

(*l*) abomi-

(1) abominated by the *Jews*, under which those people marched against them, invaded their land, besieged their Holy City, and by a most calamitous war brought utter desolation upon both; which according to the relations of *Josephus* (who was an Historian of their own Nation, and present in all the actions of the war) they executed in the most terrible and tragical manner of Destruction, that was ever brought upon any Nation, and consummated it to such a degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themselves ever since even to this day, though now 1645 years have passed, since these Judgments were by the just hand of God thus executed upon them.

But for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been said in the explication of this Prophecy there still remains one great objection to be answered. For it is urged, that the *Artaxerxes* who granted the Commission to *Ezra* in the seventh year of his reign, from whence we begin the Computation of the seventy weeks, was the same *Artaxerxes* who in the twentieth year of his reign granted another Commission to *Nehemiah*. For the Scriptures (*m*) making *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* contemporary render this beyond dispute. But that this *Artaxerxes* should be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the age, which *Nehemiah* and *Sanballat* must then have lived to, makes it, they say, wholly improbable. For *Nehemiah* in the Book of Holy Scripture

(1) *Josephus tells us* (Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.) *That when Vitellius Governor of Syria was going to pass through Judæa with a Roman Army to make war against the Arabians, the chief of the Jews met him, and earnestly intreated him to lead his Army another way. For they could not bear the sight of those Images, which were in the Ensigns under which they marched, they were so abominated by them. These Ensigns therefore for the sake of those Images in them were abominations to the Jews, and by reason of the desolations, which were wrought under them by the Roman Armies in conquered Countries, they were called desolating abominations, or abominations of desolation; and they were never more so, than when under them the Roman Armies besieged, took and destroyed Jerusalem.* (*m*) *Nehemiah viii.*

called

called by his name (which all acknowledge to have been written by him) (n) speaking of the reign of *Darius Codomannus* King of *Persia*, and of the days of *Jaddua* the High-Priest of the *Jews*, as of times past, he must have been alive after the death of both of them, but *Jaddua* not dying (o) till two years after the death of *Alexander the Great* in the year of the *Julian Period* 4392, from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to that time had passed 123 years, to which if we add thirty years more for the age of *Nehemiah*, when he came to be Governor of *Judaea* (which is the least that can be allowed to qualify him for such a trust) he must have been at the least 153 years old, when he wrote that Book, if the *Artaxerxes*, from whom he had his Commission, were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And though we suppose the writing of this Book to have been, while *Darius Codomannus* and *Jaddua* were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is into the first year of the reign of that *Darius*, yet this will not much mend the matter. For on this Supposition *Nehemiah* must have been an hundred and forty years old, when he wrote that Book, which is still a very improbable age in those times, and consequently infers the supposal, on which it is built (*i. e.* that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus* from whom he had his Commission) to be very improbable also. And the age of *Sanballat* upon the same supposal will not only be as improbable, but also much more so. For when *Nehemiah* came into *Judaea* in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, he found him (p) Governor of *Samaria* under the King of *Persia*, and he was alive, as *Josephus* tells us, (q) till the besieging of *Gaza* by *Alexander the Great*, in the fourth year of *Darius Codomannus*, at which time he died. And therefore if that *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Sanballat* at the time of that Siege

(n) Chap. xii. 2. (o) *Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum.* (p) *Nehemiah iv. 2.* (q) *Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.*

could not be less than 148 years old. For from the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the fourth of *Darius Codomannus* according to *Ptolemy's Canon* were 113 years, and when *Nebemiah* came to *Jerusalem*, *Sanballat* having been for some time, perchance for several years, fixed in the Government of *Samaria*, he cannot be well supposed to have been less than thirty-five years old at that time, and putting both these numbers together they make 148 years; and both these ages, that is that of *Nebemiah*, and this of *Sanballat*, it must be acknowledged, seem very improbable, and most especially that of the latter. For as to *Nebemiah*, an extraordinary blessing upon that good man may be alledged for such an extraordinary age in him, but this cannot be said of the other. Each of these instances apart look very improbable, but coming both together are much more so. And therefore as we have argued above, that the *Darius*, who granted the Decree for the finishing of the Temple, could not be *Darius Notbus*, because of the great and improbable age, which *Jeshua* and *Zerubbabel* must have been of at the executing of that Decree: So it is argued here in the same manner, that the *Artaxerxes*, from whom *Ezra* and *Nebemiah* had their Commissions, could not be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, because of the great and improbable age, which *Nebemiah* and *Sanballat* must then have been of at the time of their death. And therefore as we have said of the former difficulty, that it can be no otherwise solved, but by making the *Darius*, who granted the Decree for the finishing of the Temple to be another *Darius*, that is *Darius Hystaspis*, who reigned ninety-eight years before that *Darius*, who was called *Notbus*; so in like manner is it said of this latter difficulty, that it can be no otherwise cleared, but by making the *Artaxerxes*, who in the seventh and in the twentieth years of his reign granted his Commissions to *Ezra* and *Nebemiah*, to have been another *Artaxerxes*, that is *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whose seventh year and whose twentieth year of his reign

reign were just sixty years after the seventh year and the twentieth year of the reign of the other *Artaxerxes*, that was called *Longimanus*. Thus far the Objection, and if it holds good, I must acknowledge it overthrows the computation on which hath been built all, which I have hitherto said for the Explication of this Prophecy.

In answer hereto it hath been said by some, 1st, As to *Nebemiah*, that in that passage of his Book (Chap. xii. 22.) where the reign of *Darius the Persian*, and the days of *Jaddua* the High-Priest of the *Jews* are mentioned, that reign of *Darius* was the reign (r) of *Darius Nothus*, and those days of *Jaddua* (s) were his days from his birth, which might very well have hapned in the reign of the said *Darius Nothus*. And 2^{dly}, As to *Sanballat*, that (t) there were two of that name, the first of which was the *Sanballat* spoken of by *Nebemiah*, and the second the *Sanballat* spoken of by *Josephus*. But neither of these answers can possibly hold good. For

1st, It's manifest, that the Text of *Nebemiah* (Chap. xii. 22.) where the *Levites* are spoken of, that were in the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, *Johanan*, and *Jaddua*, cannot be understood to mean any other days, than those wherein they were High-Priests. For the High-Priest among the *Jews* was the Head of the Priests and *Levites*, and after the Captivity, when there was no King in *Judah*, he had the absolute Supremacy over them in all affairs relating to their office. And therefore it was then as proper for them to reckon all such affairs by the times of their High-Priests, as it is now with us to reckon all actions in the state by the times of our Kings, and consequently when any thing is said to have been done in such an High-Priest's time, it is altogether as improper to understand it of any other time, than that of his High-Priesthood, as it would be, when any thing is

(r) Usserius in Annal. sub anno J. P. 4298. (s) Usserius ibid.
(t) Isaacus Vossius in Chronologia Sacra, p. 149.

said to have been in such a King's time, to understand it of any other time, than that of his reign. And therefore to refer what is here said of the days of *Jaddua* as far back as to his days from his birth is a very forced sense, which the Text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, will any one understand it of the time before his reign, or think it any other than an absurdity so to construe it? And is it not altogether as absurd to understand, what is here said of the *Levites* to have been in the days of *Jaddua*, of any other days, than of those wherein he was High-Priest? And it is to be here observed, that the Text joins with the days of *Jaddua* the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*. For it is said (u) *In the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, &c.* And therefore if it should be here asked, whether the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan* are to be understood of the days of their High-Priesthood, or of the days of their life from their birth, no doubt it will be answered by every body, Of the days of their High-Priesthood. And why then must not the days of *Jaddua* be understood so too? It may farther be added, what need is there in this case to name *Jaddua's* days at all? Because if they be understood of those before he was High-Priest, they were coincident with the days of *Joiada* and *Johanan*, which were nam'd before. And therefore if we understand those days of *Jaddua* in the Text of any other days, than of those wherein he was High-Priest, they must have been named twice in the same Text, which would be such a faulty repetition, as it must not be charg'd with. Nothing seems more plain, than that the Text speaks of the days of these four men, as in Succession one after another, and therefore we must not run the days of one into the days of the other. Besides the whole design of interpreting the days of *Jaddua* in this Text of the days before he

(u) Nehemiah xi, 22.

was High-Priest is to support a Notion, that the said Text was written before he was High-Priest, and so far back as the time immediately after his birth about the latter end of the reign of *Darius Notbus*, they who are the Patrons of this Notion having no other way to make them contemporary. But then to name his days with the days of the other High-Priests so many years before he came to be High-Priest, and when it must be on (w) many respects uncertain, whether he would ever be so or no, is what all the writings in the world besides cannot give us an instance of. From all this it plainly follows, that those days of *Jaddua* in the Text above-mentioned can be meant of no other days than the days of his High-Priesthood, and that therefore he must have been in that Office before this Text was written. And also it is as evident, that the *Darius* in the same Text mentioned can be none other than *Darius Codomannus*, (x) in whose reign *Jaddua* was High-Priest. For the (y) Text bringing down the reckoning through the succession of several High-Priests terminates the whole in the days of *Jaddua*, and the reign of *Darius the Persian*, which clearly makes them contemporary. And therefore *Darius the Persian* in that Text mentioned could be none other, than *Darius Codomannus*, because no other *Darius* but he was King of *Persia*, while *Jaddua* was High-Priest at *Jerusalem*. And if so it must be in the reign of this *Darius* of the soonest, that this Text was written, and consequently *Nehemiah*, if he were the writer of it, must then have been living. And supposing it to have been in the reign of this *Darius*, and in the first year of it, *Nehemiah* if then living must have been 140 years old; but if it were after the death both of *Darius* and *Jaddua*, as the obvious sense of

(w) It was uncertain not only from the uncertainty of Life, but also because he might in the interim have incurred an incapacity by being maimed, or otherwise, and also might be excluded by the Persian King.

(x) Josephus antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

(y) Nehemiah xii. 22.

the Text seems to imply, he must then have been much older, that is 153 at the least, as I have above said, but neither of these is likely, and therefore it must be acknowledged, that this answer doth not remove the difficulty. Neither

2dly, Can the other answer remove that, which ariseth from the age of *Sanballat*. For to solve that Objection by making two *Sanballats* is plainly giving up the cause, it being only a shift, which can never go down with any one, that duly considers the matter. For it is not to be doubted, but that the *Sanballat*, who is said in the last Chapter of *Nehemiah* to have married his daughter to one of the sons of *Joiada* the High-Priest, is the same *Sanballat*, who is mentioned so often in the former part of that Book, as the great opposer of *Nehemiah* in all his undertakings for the welfare of the Children of *Israel*. For he is in this last place called by (z) the same proper name of *Sanballat* as in the former places of that Book, and hath there also given unto him the same additional name of the *Horonite*, taken from the name of *Horonaim* (a) a City of *Moab* (whereof it's supposed he was a native.) And it is not likely, that both these names should concur in any other within the time of the same Governor of *Judea*, but in the same person only. And that this same *Sanballat the Horonite* is the same *Sanballat*, which *Josephus* treateth of, is as evident. For the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* (b) was Governor of *Samaria*, and (c) so was the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*. The *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* (d) was a great enemy of the *Jews*, and (e) so was the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*. The *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* (f) married his daughter to one of the sons of an High-Priest of the *Jews*, and (e) so did the *Sanballat* of

(z) *Nehemiah* xiii. 28. (a) *Isaiah* xv. 5. *Jeremiah* xlvi. 3, 5, and 34. (b) *Nehemiah* iv. 9. (c) *Josephus* *Antiq.* lib. 11. c. 7. and 8. (d) *Nehemiah* ii. iv. vi. (e) *Josephus*, *ibid.* (f) *Nehemiah* xiii. 28.

Josephus; and who then is there that will not from hence conclude that they were both the same person?

And thus far I have shewn, that neither part of the Objection above-mentioned is removed by either of these answers. And I have been the longer herein, because they have been men of great name, and great learning, who have been the authors of them, and others as great have acquiesced in them as sufficient. But to come to the truth of the matter, I answer,

1st, As to the Age of *Nebemiah*, that the Text from whence this Objection is made doth not infer it. For notwithstanding what is said therein, *Nebemiah* might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great number of years before it was written. For all that is contained in the said xiiith Chapter of *Nebemiah* from the beginning of it to the 27th verse of the same was never written by *Nebemiah*, but is an Interpolation there inserted long after his death by those who received this Book into the Canon of Scripture. For (g) as *Ezra*, as far as he went in that collection, which he made of the Holy Scriptures, inserted in several places such interpolations, as he thought necessary for the clearer understanding of them, so they who laboured after him in the perfecting of the said Collection did the same in the Books which they afterwards added to it, till they had compleated the whole about the time of *Simon the Just*. For he being the last of those, whose labours were employed in the settling of the Canon of the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, and this Book being the last that was received into it, as being the last that was written, it's justly reckoned to have been in his time, that it was first thus received into the number of the Sacred Books, and then this Interpolation was added by him, and those who were assisting to him in this work. Of all which particulars a fuller account will be hereafter given in their proper places.

(g) See below in the sequel of this History.

And that this is an Interpolation, the interruption, which is made thereby in the sense and connection of that Part of the Book, doth sufficiently shew, and (b) most learned men that have considered this matter are now convinced that it is so.

But 2^{dly}, As to the other objection, which is drawn from the age of *Sanballat*, the answer is much easier. For here there is no Opposition between Scripture and Scripture, but only between Scripture and the writings of a Prophane Author. *Nehemiah* placeth *Sanballat the Horonite* in the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, (i) *Josephus* makes him live down to the time of *Alexander the Great*, above an hundred years after. Here there is no necessity of reconciling one with the other. For if both cannot consist together (as the great age, which *Sanballat* in this case must have lived to, doth sufficiently prove they cannot) the Prophane writer must give place to the Sacred. And therefore the true answer in this matter is, *Josephus* was mistaken. The Sacred writ, as being dictated by the Holy Spirit of God, must ever be of infallible truth, which cannot be said of the writings of *Josephus*. For they have in them many great and manifest mistakes, and no part of them more than the eleventh Book of Antiquities, in which is written what gives the ground for this Objection. For therein he frequently varies from Scripture, History, and Common Sense, which manifestly proves it to have been the least considered, and the worst digested of all that he hath written. Therein (k) he makes *Cambyfes*, who was the first that reigned after *Cyrus*, to have been the *Persian King* that by his Decree forbad the going on with the rebuilding of the Temple, whereas (l) the Scripture plainly tells

(b) *Isaacus Vossius* in *Chronologia Sacra*, cap. 10. p. 149. *Cary's* Chronology, Part 2. Book 2. Chap. 6. p. 197. (i) *Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.* (k) *Antiq. lib. 11. c. 3.* (l) *Ezra iv. 6, 7.* For there he makes *Ahasuerus* to be the first after *Cyrus*, and *Artaxerxes*, who forbad the going on with the rebuilding of the Temple and City of *Jerusalem*, to be the second.

us it was *Artaxerxes*, who is there named in the third place after *Cyrus*. He (m) inserts into this Book out of the *Apocryphal Esdras* the fabulous and absurd Story of the three Chamberlains contending before *Darius Hystaspis* about what was strongest; and making *Zerubabel* to be one of them, and to obtain the victory in this contest; he introduceth *Darius* giving him for the reward of this victory a Decree for another return of the Captive *Israelites* to *Judæa*, which is neither spoken of in Scripture, nor consisting with it, and placeth at the Head of those, who he saith then returned, *Zerubabel* the Governor, and *Jeshua* the High-Priest, whereas it's certain from *Ezra*, *Haggai*, and *Zechariab*, that they were then both at *Jerusalem*, and there on the Exhortations of the two Prophets last mentioned setting forward the rebuilding of the Temple. And then he goes on out of the same Romance to relate as consequential to this second return (which is wholly fictitious) all that, which the Scriptures tell us was done after the first, and in some particulars very much exceeds the fictions of the Romancer himself. For he makes those who came from *Babylon* to *Judæa* in this fictitious return to be four Millions eight thousand six hundred eighty four men, a monstrous number! and the women and children that belonged to them to be no more than forty thousand seven hundred forty and two, a disproportion which is utterly incredible, especially among those who had plurality of Wives. And (n) he makes *Xerxes*, who succeeded *Darius Hystaspis*, to have been that *Artaxerxes* of the Holy Scriptures, who sent *Ezra* and *Nebemiah* to *Jerusalem*, whereas (o) the 32d year of that *Artaxerxes* is mentioned in Scripture, and it's certain the reign of *Xerxes* did not exceed (p) one and twenty. He brings not *Nebemiah* to *Jerusalem* (q) till the twenty fifth year of that *Artaxerxes*, whereas the Scrip-

(m) Antiq. lib. II. c. 4. (n) Antiq. lib. II. c. 5. (o) Nehemiah xiii. 6. (p) Canon. Ptol. (q) Antiq. lib. II. c. 5.

tures (r) tell us he came thither in the twentieth; and he makes him to be employed there three years and an half in the rebuilding of the walls of the City, whereas we read in the Sacred Text (s) that it was done in fifty two days. And since *Josephus* hath in this Book made all these mistakes, besides many more, which it would be too long to relate, I hope it will not be thought strange, that I assert, what he saith in this same Book in reference to *Sanballat* is a mistake also. For (t) therein he tells us of him “ That being made
“ Governor of *Samaria* for the last *Darius*, he married
“ his Daughter to one whose father had been High-
“ Priest of the *Jews*, and that this Son-in-law having
“ for this marriage, as being contrary to the *Jewish*
“ Law, been deprived of his Priesthood, and driven
“ out of *Jerusalem*, he obtained from *Alexander* (to
“ whom he revolted while at the siege of *Tyre*) licence
“ to build on Mount *Gerizim* near *Samaria* a Temple
“ like that at *Jerusalem*, and to make his Son-in-law
“ High-Priest of it, and that after having attended
“ *Alexander* at this siege of *Tyre*, and also at that of
“ *Gaza* with eight thousand men, about the time of
“ the taking of the last of these he died.” Thus far this Historian. That *Sanballat* thus married his daughter to a son of an High-Priest of the *Jews*, and built a Temple on Mount *Gerizim* for him, I readily acknowledge; but that he built this Temple by Licence from *Alexander*, or lived down to those times, is as great a mistake in the Relator, as any that I have above mentioned. That he should build this Temple by Licence from *Alexander* is inconsistent with what *Josephus* himself tells us of the matter. For according to him *Sanballat* did not revolt to *Alexander* ’till he was set down before *Tyre*, and that Siege and the Siege of *Gaza* both together lasted only nine Months. And therefore if we suppose *Sanballat* to have obtained this

(r) Nehemiah ii. 1.
lib. 11. chap. 7. and 8.

(s) Nehemiah vi. 15.

(t) Antiq.

Licence from *Alexander* in the very beginning of these nine Months, he could have had but nine Months wherein to build a Temple like that at *Jerusalem*, which cost the labour of many years and the work of a multitude of hands to erect it. And how is it possible such a Structure could be built in so short a time, and that especially since all that while neither *Sanballat* himself could be present to attend it, nor those by whose hands and help the work was to be effected? for during all that time *Josephus* tells us *Sanballat* attended *Alexander* in the Camp, and had 8000 of his *Samaritans* there with him, who being the main strength and flower of that People, it is wholly improbable, that in their absence those who were left behind should have Capacity enough to undertake, or hands enough to go thorough with such a work, especially when the chief Projector *Sanballat* himself, by whose direction all was to be done, was absent also. It being therefore utterly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that this Temple could have been built by a Licence from *Alexander* in the Life-time of *Sanballat*, it must follow that if it were built at all by virtue of such a Licence from *Alexander*, it must have been built by the *Samaritans* after *Sanballat* was dead. But the ill circumstances on which the *Samaritans* were with *Alexander* immediately after the time, when *Josephus* saith *Sanballat* died, and the great misfortunes, which they thereon fell into, make this as improbable as the former. For *Alexander* was no sooner gone into *Egypt*, where he immediately marched after his taking of *Gaza*, but the *Samaritans* (u) rising in a mutiny against *Andromachus* a favourite of his, whom he had left Governor of *Syria*, set fire to the House where he was, and burnt him to death; which justly provoked *Alexander* to so severe a revenge against them, that on his return he put a great number of them to death, ex-

(u) Eusebii Chronicon ad annum 1685. In Lat. Hieronymi, p. 137. in Græcis, p. 56. and p. 177. Edit. ult. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

pelled all the rest of them out of their City, and gave it to be inhabited by a Colony of his *Macedonians*, and (w) added their Country to that of the *Jews*. And as to the eight thousand men which had followed his Camp, (x) he sent them into *Thebais*, the remotest Province of *Egypt*, and there settled them on such lands, as he caused to be distributed among them in that Province, without suffering them any more to return into their own Country. The remainder, that survived this ruin, were permitted to dwell in *Sechem*, a small village near *Samaria*, which hath from that time been the head seat of that people, and there they have remained ever since, even unto this day. And whether a people, who had in so high a degree provoked *Alexander*, should be allowed to build such a Temple by his favour, or if they had, could at all be in a capacity, when thus broken and ruined, to accomplish it, is an easy Question to answer. Whoever shall consider this in both its Branches, will no doubt think it in each of them improbable, and that with a Licence from *Alexander* neither before the Death of *Sanballat* nor after it, could any such Temple have been built by the *Samaritans*. However I deny not, but that, as hath been already said, such a Temple was built by *Sanballat* upon Mount *Gerizim*, and upon the occasion mentioned, that is of the marriage of his daughter with a Son of the High-Priest of the *Jews*, but this was done long before the time of the last *Darius*, who was called *Codomannus*, in the time of a former *Darius* surnamed *Notbus*, who was King of *Persia* eighty-eight years before him. For it appears from Scripture, that this marriage was consummated (y) while *Joiada* the Son of *Eliashib* was High-Priest of the *Jews*, and he entered on his Office in the eleventh year of this *Darius*; and four years afterwards (that is, in the fifth year of the High-Priesthood of the said *Joiada*, and in the fifteenth

(w) Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2. p. 106
 lib. 11. c. 8.

(y) Nehemiah xiii. 28.

(x) Joseph. Antiq.

year of *Darius Notbus*) was it, that his son was thus married to the daughter of *Sanballat*, as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place. And upon this marriage followed all the rest, which *Josephus* relates of the building of the Temple upon Mount *Gerizim* by *Sanballat*, and the making of his Son-in-law High-Priest of it. So that all this was done, not in the time of *Darius Codomannus* in the last year of his reign or by Licence from *Alexander*, but in the time of *Darius Notbus*, and by Licence from him only granted in the fifteenth year of his reign to *Sanballat* for this purpose; and this clears the whole objection. For *Darius Notbus* in *Ptolemy's* Canon immediately succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, in whose twentieth year *Sanballat* is first made mention of, and supposing him to have been then thirty-five years old, he would in the fifteenth year of *Darius Notbus* be no more than seventy-one, which is an age that more than the tenth part of mankind commonly arrive unto, if we may make a judgment hereof from the Bills of Mortality in *London*, where commonly the aged make a Tenth part of the Burials, and none that die there use to be put into those Bills under that Title, unless they out-live seventy. That which led *Josephus* into this Error I take it was the common Notion, which hath long obtained among his Countrymen, (z) that the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, was the son of *Abasuerus* by *Esther*; and therefore on his making *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to be *Abasuerus* he makes the *Darius* that succeeded him, that is *Darius Notbus*, to be the last *Darius*, who was subdued by that conqueror. And that this was his opinion appears plainly from his History. For having therein given us an account of all the Kings of *Persia* from *Cyrus* to *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in that exact Series of Succession, in which they reigned one after the other, without omitting so much as the *Magian* Usurper, tho' he

(z) R. Abraham Levita in *Historica Cabala*. David Gantz in *Zemach David*. Abraham Zacutus in *Jachasin*, &c.

reigned

reigned only seven Months, after *Artaxerxes Longimanus* he names none other, but that last *Darius*, in whom the *Persian* Empire ended. Which is a plain Argument that he took that last *Darius* to have been the *Darius* that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and if so, the age of *Sanballat* will then put no difficulty upon us. But (a) *Isaac Vossius* by an Emendation of the Text of *Josephus* introduceth thereinto another *Artaxerxes*, as mentioned by him to reign in *Persia* between *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and the last *Darius*. For whereas in the seventh Chapter of the eleventh Book of his *Antiquities* in all the printed Copies we read of *Bagoses*, that he was General τῷ λαῷ Ἀρταξέρξῃ, that is, of the People of *Artaxerxes*, he would have it to be τῷ ἄλλῃ Ἀρταξέρξῃ, which may be rendered in *English* either of the other *Artaxerxes*, or of another *Artaxerxes*. And to justify the emendation he brings the authority of *Ruffinus*, who in his version of *Josephus* translates this place, as if the Copy which he used had it τῷ ἄλλῃ Ἀρταξέρξῃ. But *Ruffinus's* *Latin* version is no sufficient standard, whereby to judge of the Original, since in many places he phantastically varies from it. And since there were two *Artaxerxes's*, that reigned in *Persia* after *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, that is *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*, whether by this ἄλλῃ Ἀρταξέρξῃ we understand the other *Artaxerxes* or another *Artaxerxes*, the true propriety of speech will bear neither of them in that place, and if it could, a long received reading ought in no ancient Author to be varied from without the Authority of some good Manuscript to justify the emendation, and there is none alledged in this case. So that all that *Vossius* saith about it can amount to no more than a Conjecture, which we can build nothing certain upon; and to alter old Authors upon conjectures only is never to be allowed, especially where the context will bear the one reading as well as the other. For since the various fancies of

(a) In *Chronologia sacra*, cap. 10. p. 150.

men may lead to various conjectures, if there should be such a liberty allowed, whole Books may be thus altered away, and utterly defaced by such conjectural Emendations, and many good Authors have already too much suffered by it.

And thus far I have explained this important Prophecy in all its Parts and Branches, and fully shewn all those Events, in which every particular of it had its completion. That there are several difficulties in it must be acknowledged. The perplexities, which many learned men have been led into in their explanations of it, do sufficiently prove it. And the understanding in a literal Sense, what is there meant in a figurative, hath not been the least cause hereof. Not to be delivered in plain Terms is what is common to all Prophecies, there being none of them without their difficulties and obscurities. There is too great an itch in mankind to look into futurities, which belong to God only to know. And although God hath been pleased so far to gratify our Curiosity herein, as to give us Prophecies for the magnifying of his Omniscience among us; yet they are most of them delivered in such dark and obscure Terms, as not to be thoroughly understood till after they are fulfilled. Then the Events become sure Comments upon the Text. And I hope when the Reader hath fully considered all that is above proposed concerning this very important Prophecy, he will be thoroughly satisfied how every particular of it had its completion.

But to return again to our History. *Ezra* (b) having found in the second year of his Government, that many of the People had taken strange wives contrary to the Law, and that several of the Priests and *Levites*, as well as other chief men of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, had transgressed herein, after he had in fasting and prayer deprecated God's wrath for it, he caused Proclamation

Anno 457.
Artaxerxes 8.

(b) *Ezra* ix. and x.

to be made for all the people of *Israel*, that had returned from the Captivity, to gather themselves together at *Jerusalem* under the penalty of Excommunication and forfeiture of all their goods. And when they were met, he made them sensible of their sin, and engaged them in a promise and covenant before God to depart from it, by putting away their strange wives, and all such as were born of them, that the seed of *Israel* might not be polluted with such an undue commixture, and thereon Commissioners were appointed to enquire into this matter, and cause every man to do according to the Law herein. And they sat down the first day of the tenth month to examine hereinto, and made an end by the first day of the first month, so that in three months time, that is in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth months of the *Jewish* year, a thorough reformation was made of this transgression, which three months answer to *January*, *February*, and *March*, in our year.

About this time (c) *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, two Eunuchs of the Palace, entered into a Conspiracy against the life of King *Artaxerxes*. Most likely they were of those who had attended Queen *Vashti*, and being now out of their Offices by the degrading of their Mistress, and the advancing of another into her place, took that disgust thereat, as to resolve to revenge themselves on the King for it; of which *Mordecai* having gotten the knowledge he made discovery hereof to Queen *Esther*, and she in *Mordecai*'s name to the King; whereon inquiry being made into the matter, and the whole Treason laid open and discovered, the two Traitors were both crucified for it, and the History of the whole matter was enter'd on the Publick Registers, and Annals of the Kingdom.

Megabyzus, and *Artabafus*, who were appointed Generals by *Artaxerxes* for the *Egyptian* war, (d) had drawn together into *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia* an Army of three hundred thousand men for that Expedition;

(c) *Esther* ii. 21. (d) *Ctesias*. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 11.

but wanting a Fleet for the carrying of it on by Sea, they were forced to tarry there all this year, while it was preparing for them in *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Phœnicia*, and other maritime parts of the *Persian* Empire there adjoining, all which time they carefully employed in exercising their Soldiers, and practising and instructing them in all military Arts for the war, which conduced not a little to the victory, which they afterwards obtained. In the interim *Inarus* with his *Egyptians* and the *Athenian* Auxiliaries pressed hard their assaults upon the *White Wall* at *Memphis*, but the *Persians* valiantly defending themselves, the Siege continued all this year without any Success.

But (e) the next year after the *Persian* Fleet being ready, *Artabazus* took the command of it, and set sail for the *Nile*; and at the same time *Megabyzus* marched the army over land to *Memphis*, where on his arrival having raised the Siege and joined the besieged, he gave battle to *Inarus* and all his Forces, and overthrew them with a great slaughter, which fell chiefly upon the *Egyptian* Revolters. After this defeat *Inarus*, tho' wounded in the fight by *Megabyzus*, made his retreat with the *Athenian* Auxiliaries, and as many of the *Egyptians* as would follow him, to *Biblus*, a City standing in the Island *Profopitis*, which being surrounded by the *Nile*, and the branches of that River encompassing it being both navigable, the *Athenians* drew up their Fleet into one of them in a station, where it was safe from the Enemy, and endured a Siege of an year and half in that Island. In the interim the rest of the *Egyptians* after that blow all submitted to the Conquerors, and returned again to their obedience to King *Artaxerxes*, excepting *Amyrtaeus*, who still maintained a party against him in the Fens, where he reigned many years, the *Persians*, by reason of the difficulty of access to those parts, having been never able to reduce him.

(e) Thucydides lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodorus Siculus lib. 11.

In the mean time (f) the *Persian* Army at *Prosopitis* pressed on the Siege, but finding that they could make no work of it by the usual and common ways of war, by reason of the valour and resolution of the defendants, at length had recourse to craft and stratagem, whereby they soon accomplished, what by open force they could not effect. For having by the making of many Channels drained that branch of the *Nile*, in which the *Athenian* Fleet had its station, they laid it on dry ground, and made a passage open for all their Army to pass over into the Island; whereon *Inarus* seeing his case desperate, with all his *Egyptians*, and about fifty of the *Athenian* Auxiliaries, came to composition with *Megabyzus*, and yielded to him on Terms of safety for their lives. But the rest of the Auxiliaries, being in number about six thousand, put themselves on their defence; and therefore having set their Fleet on fire stood together in battle-array with resolution to die with their swords in their hands, and in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians*, that fell at *Thermopylae*, sell their lives as dear as they could; which the *Persians* perceiving, and not being willing to engage with men so desperately resolved, offered them peace on Terms, that they should leave *Egypt*, and have a free passage home into their own Country, which way they should choose for their return thither; which being accepted of, they delivered the Island with the City of *Biblus* to the Conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they took shipping for *Greece*. But the major part of those that went on this Expedition perished in it.

And this was not all the loss which the *Athenians* suffered in this war. (g) For another Fleet of fifty sail being sent by them for the relief of those who were besieged in *Prosopitis*, they arrived at one of the Mouths of the *Nile* a little after the place was deli-

(f) Thucydides lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodorus Siculus lib. 11.

(g) Thucydides lib. 1.

vered, with intention to sail up the *Nile* for the assistance of their Countrymen, to the place where they were besieged, not knowing the misfortune that had hapned to them. But they were no sooner entered the River, but they were set upon by the *Persian* Fleet from the Sea, and assaulted with darts by the Land-army from the shore, so that they all perished, excepting a very few of their Ships, which broke through the Enemy and escaped. And here ended this unfortunate war, which the *Athenians* made in *Egypt*, in the sixth year after it was begun. And after this *Egypt* was again reduced under the *Persian* Yoke, and so continued all the remaining time of the reign of *Artaxerxes*

Anno 453.
Artaxerxes 12.

Joachim the High-Priest of the *Jews* being dead was (*b*) succeeded by *Elisib* his son, who bore that Office forty Years.

Haman an *Amalekite* of the Posterity of *Agag*, who was King of *Amalek* in the time of *Saul*, (*i*) growing to be the chief favourite of King *Artaxerxes*, all the King's Servants were commanded to pay reverence unto him, and bow before him; and all of them obeyed the Royal Order herein, excepting *Mordecai* the *Jew*, who sitting in the King's Gate according to his Office, paid not any reverence to *Haman* at such times as he passed by into the Palace, neither bowed he at all to him; of which being told he was exceeding wroth, but scorning to lay hands on one man only, and being informed that he was a *Jew*, he resolved in revenge of this affront to destroy not only him, but also his whole Nation with him; and to this perchance he was not a little excited by the ancient Enmity, which was between them, and the people of whom he was descended. And therefore for the accomplishing this design, on the first day of the first month, that is the month *Nisan*, he

(*b*) Chronicon Alexandrinum. Nehemiah xii. 10. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. (*i*) Esther iii.

called together his Diviners, to find out what day would be the most lucky for the putting of it in Execution; whereon they having according to the way of Divination then in use among those Eastern people, cast lots first upon each Month, and after upon each day of the Month, did thereby determine for the thirteenth day of the twelfth Month following, called *Adar*, as the day which they judged would be the most lucky for the accomplishing of what he purposed; whereon he forthwith went in unto the King, and having insinuated to him, that there was a certain people dispersed all over his Empire, who did not keep the King's Laws, but followed Laws of their own, diverse from the Laws of all other people, to the Disturbance of the good order of his Kingdom, and the breach of that Uniformity, whereby it ought to be governed, and that therefore it was not for the King's profit, that they should be any longer suffered, he proposed and gave Counsel, that they should be all destroyed, and extirpated out of the whole Empire of *Persia*, and urged it, as that which was necessary for the establishing of the peace and good order of his Government. To which having obtained the King's consent, and an order, that on the thirteenth day of *Adar* following, according as was determined by the divination of the Lots, it should be put in Execution, he called the King's Scribes together to write the Decree; and it being drawn according as he proposed, on the thirteenth day of the same Month of *Nisan* Copies thereof were written out and sent into all the Provinces of the Empire, commanding the King's Lieutenants, Governors, and all other his Officers, in every one of them to destroy, kill, and cause to perish all *Jews* both young and old, little children, and women in one day, even on the thirteenth day of *Adar* following, and to take the spoil of them for a prey; which day being full eleven Months after the date of the Decree, the Lot which pointed out that day seems to have been directed by the special providence of

God, that so long a space intervening there might be time enough to take such measures, as might be proper to prevent the mischief intended.

But an Objection being like to arise against this from those who had the management of the King's Treasury, because the destroying of so great a number of the King's Subjects, as the *Jews* through the whole Empire amounted to, must necessarily cause a great diminution of the publick Taxes, he offered (*k*) ten thousand Talents of Silver out of his own purse to make the King amends for it; which sum if computed by *Babylonish* Talents, amounts to two millions one hundred and nineteen thousand pounds of our sterling money, but if by *Jewish* Talents, it will be above twice as much; a prodigious Sum for a private man to be owner of! As this shews the greatness of his riches, so doth it also the greatness of his malice towards the *Jews*, that he could be content to give so great a price for the executing of his revenge upon them. But the King's favour was then so great toward him, (*l*) that he remitted to him all that Sum, and granted him all that he desired without it; though the damage, which the King would have suffered by it in his revenue, would have been much greater than all that the enemy was able to give (*m*) could have been sufficient to contravail. We are not to wonder that private men had then such vast riches. There are instances to be given of much greater Sums in the hands of such men in those ancient times. I shall at present make mention only of two of them. *Pythius the Lydian*, and *Marcus Crassus the Roman*. The former, when *Xerxes* passed into *Greece*, (*n*) was possessed of two thousand Talents in Silver, and four millions of *Darics* in Gold, which together amounted to near five millions and a half of our sterling money. And the latter, (*o*) after he had consecrated the tenth of

(*k*) Esther iii. 9.
(*n*) Herodotus lib. 7.

(*l*) Esther iii. 10.
(*o*) Plutarchus in *Crasso*.

(*m*) Esther vii. 4.

all that he had to *Hercules*, feasted all the people of *Rome* at ten thousand Tables, and had given them in a Donative of Corn to every Citizen as much as would last him three Months, found the remainder of his estate to be seven thousand one hundred *Roman* Talents, which amounts to above a million and a half of our money. This may seem much to us at present. But the wonder will cease, when we consider that from the time of *David* and *Solomon*, and for above fifteen hundred years afterwards, Gold and Silver was in much greater plenty in the world, than either of them is at present. The immense riches (p) which *Solomon* had in Gold and Silver, the prodigious quantities of both these, (q) which *Alexander* found in the Treasuries of *Darius*, and (r) the vast loads of them, which we find often to have been carried in Triumph before *Roman* Generals, when they returned from conquered Provinces, and the excessive Sums (r) which some of the *Roman* Emperors expended in their luxurious and phantastical enjoyments, and in Donatives to their Armies, and many (s) other instances in the Histories of the times I have

(p) *The Gold wherewith he overlaid the Sanctum Sanctorum only, a Room in the Temple of thirty foot square and thirty foot high, besides what was expended on other Parts of the Temple, and in the Utensils and Vessels of it, amounted to six hundred Talents, which reduced to our money is four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds Sterling; and the Gold which he had in one year from Ophir amounted to four hundred and fifty Talents, which reduced to our money is three Millions two hundred and forty thousand Pounds; and his annual Tribute in Gold besides Silver was six hundred sixty and six Talents, which amounts to four Millions seven hundred ninety five thousand two hundred pounds of our Sterling money.* (q) *See Diodorus Siculus, Arrian. and Q. Curtius.* (r) *See the Roman Historians.* (s) *One of these instances may be in Lucullus a Roman Senator. For in one of his Halls, which he called Apollo, he expended fifty thousand Roman Denarii every time he supped there (which is near sixteen hundred pound of our money) and there he supped as often as any of the better sort supped with him. The words of Plutarch, who tells us this in the life of Lucullus, express no more than that the Supper cost him five Myriads; but this in strict propriety of speech can in that Author be meant of*

have mentioned sufficiently proves this. But at length the mines, which furnished this Plenty, especially those of the Southern *Arabia* (where we suppose was the *Ophir* of the ancients) being exhausted; and the burning of Cities, and great devastations of Countries, which after followed from the Eruptions of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, and other Barbarous Nations in the West, and of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Tartars* in the East, having wasted and destroyed a great part of the Gold and Silver, which the world afore abounded with, this induced that great scarcity of both, which afterwards ensued, and which the mines of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Brasil*, have not as yet been able fully to repair.

It's hard to find a reason for *Mordecai's* refusing to pay this respect to *Haman*, which may be sufficient to excuse him for thus exposing himself and all his Nation to that destruction, which it had like to have drawn upon them. That which is commonly said is, that it was the same adoration which was paid to the King of *Persia*, and that (*t*) consisting in the bowing of the knee and the prostration of the whole body even to the ground, it was avoided by *Mordecai* upon a (*u*) Notion which he had of its being Idolatrous. But this being the common Compliment, which was constantly paid to the Kings of *Persia* by all that were admitted into their Presence, it was no doubt paid to this very King by *Ezra* and *Nehe-miah*, when they had access unto him, and after also by *Mordecai* himself. For otherwise he could not have obtained that admission into his presence, and that advancement in his Palace, which was after-

no other Myriads but of Denarii. If we carry the valuation down to that of Sestertii, five Myriads (that is fifty thousand) of them will amount to a quarter the sum above mentioned, that is four hundred pound of our money, and this is prodigious enough to be spent in a supper for the entertainment of two Roman Senators (for no more were present at the supper particularly mentioned by that Author) and is a great instance of the prodigious wealth of the Entertainer. (*t*) Vide Briffonium de Regno Persarum lib. 1. § 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. (*u*) Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.

wards

wards there granted unto him. And if it were not idolatrous to pay this adoration to the King, neither could it be idolatrous to pay it to *Haman*. The *Greeks* would not pay this respect to the King of *Persia*, out of Pride; and excepting *Themistocles*, and (w) two or three more, (x) none of them could ever be brought to it. I will not say that this was the case of *Mordecai* in respect of *Haman*. It seems most probable that his refusing to pay him this reverence, was from a cause that was personal in *Haman* only. Perchance it was because *Haman* being of the race of the *Amalekites*, he looked on him as under the Curse, (y) which God had denounced against that Nation, and therefore thought himself obliged not to give such honour unto him. And if all the rest of the *Jews* thought the same, this might seem reason enough to him, to extend his wrath against the whole Nation, and to meditate the destruction of them all in revenge hereof. But whatsoever was the cause that induced *Mordecai* to refuse the payment of this respect to the King's Favourite, this provoked that Favourite to obtain the Decree above-mentioned for the utter Extirpation of the whole *Jewish* Nation in revenge for it.

When (z) *Mordecai* heard of this Decree, he made great lamentation, as did also all the *Jews* of *Shushan* with him; and therefore putting on Sack-cloth he sat in this mournful Garb without the King's Gate, (for he might not enter within it in that dress) which being told *Esther*, she sent to him to know what the matter was; whereon *Mordecai* acquainted her with the whole state of the Case, and sent her a Copy of

(w) One of these was *Timagoras* an Athenian, on whom the people of Athens passed sentence of death for it, thinking the Honour of their whole City debased by this mean submission of one of their Citizens to him, that was then the greatest King of the whole Earth. *Valer. Max. lib. 6. c. 3.* (x) Vide *Plutarchum* in *Themistocle* & *Pelopida* & *Artaxerxe*. *Herodotum lib. 7.* *Justinum lib. 6. c. 2.* & *Cornelium Nepotem* in *Conone*. (y) *Exodus xvi. 14.* *1 Sam. xv. 2, 3.* (z) *Esther iv.* *Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.*

the Decree, that thereby she might fully see the mischief that was intended against her people, absolutely to destroy them and root them out from the face of the Earth; and therefore commanded her forthwith to go in unto the King, and make supplication for them. At first she excused herself because of the Law, whereby it was ordained, that whosoever whether man or woman should come in unto the King into the inner Court, who was not called for, should be put to death, excepting such only to whom the King should hold out the Golden Scepter in his hand, that he might live, and she was afraid of hazard-ing her life in this case. Whereon *Mordecai* sending to her again, told her, that the Decree extended Universally to all of her Nation without any Exception, and that if it came to execution, she must not expect to escape more than any other of her people; that Providence seemed to have advanced her of purpose for this work, but if she refused to act her part in it, then deliverance should come some other way, and she and her Father's House should perish. For he was fully persuaded, God would not suffer his people to be thus totally destroyed. Whereon *Esther* resolving to put her life to hazard for the safety of her people, desired *Mordecai*, that he and all the *Jews* then in *Shushan* would fast three days for her, and offer up prayer and humble supplication to God to prosper her in the undertaking; which being accordingly done, on the third day, *Esther* put on her Royal Apparel, and went in unto the King, where he was sitting upon his Throne in the inner part of the Palace. And as soon as he saw her standing in the Court he shewed favour unto her, and held out his Golden Scepter towards her, and *Esther* going near and touching the top of it, had thereby her life secured unto her. And when the King asked her what her petition was, at first she only desired, that he and *Haman* would come to a Banquet, which she had prepared for him. And when *Haman* was called, and the King and he were at the Banquet, he asked her

her again of her petition, promising it should be granted her, even to the half of his Kingdom; but then she desired only that the King and *Haman* would come again the next day to the like Banquet, intimating, that then she would make known her request unto him. Her intention in desiring thus to entertain the King twice at her Banquets, before she made known her Petition unto him was, that thereby she might the more endear herself to him, and dispose him the better to grant the request, which she had to make unto him.

Haman being proud of the Honour of being thus admitted alone with the King to the Queen's Banquet, went home to his House much puffed up herewith. But in his returning thither seeing *Mordecai* sitting at the Gate of the Palace, and still refusing to bow unto him, this moved his indignation to such a degree, that on his coming to his House and calling his friends about him to relate to them the great honour, that was done him by the King and Queen, and the high advancement which he had obtained in the Kingdom, he cou'd not forbear complaining of the disrespect and affront offered him by *Mordecai*. Whereon they advised him to cause a Gallows to be built of fifty cubits height, and next morning to ask the King to have *Mordecai* to be hang'd thereon. And accordingly he ordered the Gallows immediately to be made, and went early next morning to the Palace for the obtaining of a grant from the King to hang *Mordecai* on it. But (a) that morning the King awaking sooner than ordinary, and not being able to compose himself again to sleep, he called for the Book of the Records and Chronicles of the Kingdom, and caused them to be read unto him; wherein finding an account of the Conspiracy of *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, and that it was discovered by *Mordecai* the Jew, the King enquired what honour had

(a) Esther vi.

been done to him for the same; and being told that nothing had been done for him, he enquired who was in the Court, and being told that *Haman* was standing there (for he attended early to speak to the King for the purpose I have mentioned) he ordered him to be called in, and asked of him, what should be done to the man whom the King delighted to honour. Whereon *Haman* thinking this honour was intended for himself, gave advice; That the Royal Apparel should be brought, which the King used to wear, and the Horse which was kept for his own riding, and the Crown which useth to be set upon his head, and that this Apparel and Horse should be delivered into the hands of one of the King's most noble Princes, that he might array therewith the man whom the King delighted to honour, and bring him on horseback through the whole City, and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the King delighteth to honour. Whereon the King commanded him forthwith to take the Apparel and Horse, and do all this to *Mordecai* the Jew, who sat in the King's Gate, in reward for his discovery of the Treason of the two Eunuchs. All which *Haman* having been forced to do in obedience to the King's command, he returned with great sorrow to his House, lamenting the disappointment, and great mortification he had met with, in being thus forced to pay so signal an honour to his enemy, whom he intended at the same time to have hanged on the Gallows, which he had provided for him. And on his relating of this to his friends, they all told him, that if this *Mordecai* were of the seed of the Jews, this bad omen foreboded, that he should not prevail against him, but should surely fall before him. While they were thus talking, one of the Queen's Chamberlains came to *Haman's* House to hasten him to the Banquet, and seeing the Gallows, which had been set up the night before, fully informed himself of the intent for which it

mod

it was prepared. On the King and *Haman's* sitting down to the Banquet (*b*) the King asked again of *Esther*, what was her petition, with like promise as before of granting of it to her even to the half of his Kingdom. Whereon she humbly prayed the King, that her life might be given her at her petition, and her people at her request; for a design was laid for the destruction of her and all her Kindred and Nation; at which the King asking with much anger, who it was that durst do this thing, she told him that *Haman* then present was the wicked Author of the Plot, and laid the whole of it open to the King. Whereon the King rose up in great wrath from the Banquet, and walked out into the Garden adjoining, which *Haman* perceiving fell down before the Queen upon the Bed, on which she was sitting, to supplicate for his life; in which posture the King having found him on his return, spoke out in great passion; What, will he force the Queen before me in the House? At which words the servants present immediately (*c*) covered his face, as was then the usage to condemned Persons, and the Chamberlain, who had that day called *Haman* to the Banquet acquainting the King of the Gallows, which he saw at his House there prepared for *Mordecai*, who had saved the King's life in detecting the Treason of the two Eunuchs, the King ordered, that he should be forthwith hanged thereon; which was accordingly done; and all his House, Goods and Riches were given to *Queen Esther*, and she appointed *Mordecai* to be her Steward to manage the same. (*d*) On the same day the Queen acquainted the King of the Relation, which *Mordecai* had unto her; whereon the King took him into his favour, and advanced him to great power, riches, and dignity in the Empire, and made him the keeper of his signet in the same manner as *Haman* had been before.

(*b*) *Esther* vii. *Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.* (*c*) *Vide Brissotium de Regno Persarum.* (*d*) *Esther* viii.

But (e) still the Decree for the destruction of the *Jews* remaining in its full force, the Queen petitioned the King the second time to put away this mischief from them. But according to the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* (f) nothing being to be reversed, which had been decreed and written in the King's name, and sealed with the King's seal; and the Decree procured by *Haman* against the *Jews* having been thus written and sealed, it could not be recalled. All therefore that the King could do in compliance with her request was to give the *Jews* by a new Decree such a power to defend themselves against all that should assault them, as might render the former Decree ineffectual; and for that end he bid *Esther* and *Mordecai* draw such a Decree in words as strong as they could devise, that so the former might be hindred from being executed, though it could not be annul'd. And therefore the King's Scribes being again called, on the twenty-third day of the third Month a New Decree was drawn, just two Months and ten days after the former, wherein the King granted to the *Jews*, which were in every City of the *Persian* Empire, full licence to gather themselves together, and stand for their lives, and to destroy, slay and cause to perish all the power of the People and Province, that should assault them, with their little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. And this Decree being written in the King's Name and sealed with his Seal, Copies hereof were drawn out, and especial Messengers were dispatched with them into all the Provinces of the Empire.

In the interim (g) *Megabyzus* having reduced the whole Kingdom of *Egypt*, except the Fenny part held by *Amyrtaeus*, and there settled all matters again under the Dominion of King *Artaxerxes*, he made *Sartamas* Governor of that Country, and returned to

(e) *Esther* viii. *Josephus* lib. 11. c. 6. (f) *Daniel* vi. 8, 15.
Esther i. 19. and viii. 8. (g) *Ctesias*.

Susa, carrying with him *Inarus* and his *Græcian* prisoners. And having given the King an Account of the Articles he had granted them of life and safety, he obtained of him a ratification of the same, although with difficulty, because of the King's anger against them for the death of *Achæmenides* his Brother, who was slain in battle against them. But *Hamestris* the mother of both these Brothers was so eagerly set for the revenging of the death of her son, that she not only demanded, that *Inarus* and his *Greeks* should be delivered up to her to be put to death for it, contrary to the Articles given them, but also required that *Megabyzus* himself, though her Son-in-law, should undergo the same punishment, for granting them such Articles as should exempt them from that just revenge, which in this case she ought to execute upon them. And it was with difficulty, that she was for this time put off with a denial.

The thirteenth day of *Adar* drawing near, (b) when the Decree obtained by *Haman* for the Destruction of the *Jews* was to be put in Execution, their adversaries every where prepared to act against them according to the contents of it. And the *Jews* on the other hand by virtue of the second Decree above-mentioned, which was obtained in their favour by *Esther* and *Mordecai*, gathered themselves together in every City, where they dwelt, throughout all the Provinces of King *Artaxerxes* to provide for their defence, so that on the said thirteenth of *Adar* through the means of these two different and discordant Decrees a war was commenced between the *Jews* and their Enemies throughout the whole *Persian* Empire. But the Rulers of the Provinces, and the Lieutenants, the Deputies, and other Officers of the King, knowing in what power *Esther* and *Mordecai* were then with him, through fear of them so favoured the *Jews*,

Anno 452.
Artaxerxes 13.

(b) Esther ix. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

that they prevailed every where against all those that rose up against them, and on that day throughout the whole Empire slew of their Enemies seventy-five thousand persons, and in the City of *Shushan* on that day and the next eight hundred more, among which were the ten sons of *Haman*, whom by a special order from the King they caused all to be hanged, perchance upon the same Gallows, on which *Haman* their father had been hanged before.

The *Jews* being thus delivered from this dangerous design, which threatned them with no less than utter Extirpation, they made great rejoicings for it on the two days following, that is on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the said Month of *Adar*. And (i) by the order of *Esther* and *Mordecai* these two days with the thirteenth that preceded them, were set apart and consecrated to be annually observed for ever after in commemoration hereof, the thirteenth as a fast, because of the destruction on that day intended to have been brought upon them, and the other two as a feast because of their deliverance from it. And (k) both this Fast and this Feast they constantly observe every year on those days even to this time. The Fast they call the Fast of *Esther*, and the Feast the Feast of *Purim* from the *Persian* word *Purim* (which signifieth Lots) because it was by the casting of Lots, that *Haman* did set out this time for their destruction. This feast is the *Bacchanals* of the *Jews*, which they celebrate with all manner of rejoicing, mirth and jollity; and therein indulge themselves in all manner of luxurious Excesses, especially in drinking wine even to drunkenness; which they think part of the duty of the solemnity, because it was by the means of the wine Banquet (they say) that *Esther* made the King's heart merry, and brought him into that good humour, which inclined him to grant the request,

(i) *Esther* ix. 20, 21, 22. *Josephus* *Antiq.* lib. 11. c. 6.

(k) *Talmud* in *Megillah*. *Maimonides* in *Megillah*. *Buxtorfii* *Synagoga Judaica*, c. 29.

which she made unto him for their deliverance ; and therefore they think they ought to make their Hearts merry also, when they celebrate the commemoration of it. During this Festival the Book of *Esther* is solemnly read in all their Synagogues from the beginning to the end, at which they are all to be present, men, women, children, and servants, because all these had their parts in this deliverance, which *Esther* obtained for them. And as often as the name of *Haman* occurs in the reading of this Book, the usage is for them all to clap with their hands, and stamp with their feet, and cry out, Let his memory perish. This is the last Feast of the year among them. For the next that follows is the Passover, which always falls in the middle of the Month, which begins the *Jewish* year.

The *Athenians* having provided themselves with another fleet, after the loss of that in *Egypt* (1) sent *Cimon* with two hundred Sail again into *Cyprus*, there to carry on the war against the *Persians*, where he took *Citium* and *Malum*, and several other Cities, and sent sixty sail into *Egypt* to the assistance of *Amyrtæus*. At the same time *Artabasus* was in those Seas with a fleet of three hundred sail, and *Megabyzus* the other General of King *Artaxerxes* had a land Army of three hundred thousand men on the Coasts of *Cilicia*, but neither of them had the success in this war, which they had in the last. For

Cimon (1) on the return of his ships from *Egypt* fell on *Artabasus*, and having taken an hundred of his ships, and destroyed several others, pursued the remainder to the Coasts of *Pbænicia*, and being flush'd with this success on his return landed upon *Megabyzus* in *Cilicia*, and overthrew him also, making a very great slaughter of his numerous army, and then sailed back again to *Cyprus* with a double Triumph.

Anno 450.
Artaxerxes 15.

Anno 449.
Artaxerxes 16.

(1) Plutarchus in Cimone. Thucydides lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
Artaxerxes

Artaxerxes hearing of these great losses sustained both at Sea and Land (*m*) became weary of so destructive a war, and therefore upon thorough advice taken with his Counsellors and Ministers came to a resolution of putting an end to the Calamities of it by coming to an accommodation with the Enemy; and accordingly sent to his Generals and Commanders, who had the charge of the *Cyprian* War, to make peace with the *Athenians* on the best Terms they could. Whereon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* sending Ambassadors to *Athens* to make the proposal, Plenipotentiaries were appointed of each side to treat of the matter, and they came to an agreement on these Terms, 1st, That all the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* should have their Liberty, and be left free to live according to their own Laws; 2^{dly}, That no *Persian* ship of war should any more appear on any of those Seas, which lie from the *Cyanean* to the *Chelidonian* Islands, that is from the *Euxin* Sea to the Coasts of *Pamphylia*; 3^{dly}, That no *Persian* Commander should come with an Army by Land within three days journey of those Seas; 4^{thly}, That the *Athenians* should no more invade any of the Territories of King *Artaxerxes*. Which Articles being ratified and sworn to on both sides, Peace was concluded. And so this war ended, after it had continued from the time that the *Athenians* burnt *Sardis* (which was the first beginning of it) full one and fifty years; to the destruction of a vast number of men on both sides. In the interim *Cimon* died at *Citium*, and the *Athenians* returned with his Corps to *Athens*, and after this came no more into those seas.

King *Artaxerxes* (*n*) being continually solicited by his Mother to deliver to her *Inarus*, and the *Athenians* who were taken with him in *Egypt*, that she might revenge on them the death of her son *Achæmenides*, after having for five years resisted her unwearied and restless importu-

Anno 448.
Artaxerxes 17.

(*m*) Diodorus Siculus lib. 11. Plutarchus in *Cimone*. (*n*) Ctesias.
nities,

nities, was at last tired out by them to yield to her request, and the Prisoners were delivered to her; whereon the cruel woman, without having any regard to the publick faith which had been plighted for their safety, caused *Inarus* (o) to be Crucified, and the Heads of all the rest to be struck off, at which *Megabyzus* was exceedingly grieved and offended. For it being on his engagement for their safety that they had rendred themselves, he thought it a great dishonour done him, that it was thus violated, and therefore retired in discontent into *Syria*, the Province of which he was Governor, and to revenge the wrong there raised an Army, and rebelled against the King.

To repress this Rebellion (p) *Artaxerxes* sent *Ostiris*, a prime Nobleman of his Court, with two hundred thousand men into *Syria*. But *Megabyzus* having met him in Battle wounded him and took him prisoner, and put his whole Army to flight. But *Artaxerxes* having sent a messenger to demand him, *Megabyzus* forthwith released him, and as soon as his Wounds were healed sent him back again to the King.

The next year following the King (q) sent another Army against him under the Command of *Menostanes* son to *Artarius* Governor of *Babylon*, and one of his Brothers. But he had no better fortune this year, than the former General had in the last; for being in the same manner vanquished and put to flight, *Megabyzus* gained a great victory over him; whereby *Artaxerxes* perceiving, that he could not prevail against him by force of Arms, sent *Artarius* his Brother, and *Amytis* his Sister, who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with several other persons of Quality, to reconcile him unto him, and bring him by fair means to return to his duty, by whose interposition the difference being made up the King granted him his pardon, and he returned again to Court. But while the King was

Anno 447.

Artaxerxes 18.

Anno 446.

Artaxerxes 19.

(o) Thucydides lib. 1. Ctesias. (p) Ctesias. (q) Ctesias.

in Hunting, a Lion having raised himself up upon his hinder legs against him, *Megabyzus*, who was then present, out of his zeal to extricate the King from this danger threw a dart at the Lion and slew him. But *Artaxerxes* laying hold of this light pretence to express the bitter rancor, which he still retained in his mind against him for his late revolt, ordered his head to be struck off for presuming to strike at the beast before him, and it was with difficulty, that *Amytis* his wife and *Hamestris* her Mother with their joint petitions prevailed so far in his behalf, that his sentence of death was changed into that of Banishment; whereon he was sent to *Cyrta*, a place on the *Red-Sea*, there to lead the rest of his life under confinement. But after he had lived there five years having made his escape from thence, and under the habit and disguise of a Leper got safe to his own house at *Susa*, he was there by the means of his wife and her mother again restored to the King's favour, and continued in it ever after to the time of his death, which hapned some years after in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was then very much lamented by the King and all his Court. For he was the ablest man both in Council and War, that was in the whole Empire, and to him *Artaxerxes* owed his life, as well as his Crown, at his first accession to the Government. But it is a dangerous thing for a Subject to have too much obliged his Prince, and this was the Cause of all the misfortunes that hapned unto him.

Ezra (r) continued in the Government of *Judaea* 'till the end of this year, and by virtue of the Commission he had from the King, and the powers granted him thereby, he reformed the whole state of the *Jewish* Church, according to the Law of *Moses*, in which he was excellently learned, and settled it upon that bottom, upon which it afterwards stood to the time of our Saviour. The two chief things, which

(r) *Ezra* viii. ix, x. *Nehemiah* ii.

he had to do, were to restore the observance of the *Jewish* Law according to the ancient approved usages, which had been in practice before the Captivity under the directions of the Prophets, and to collect together, and set forth a correct Edition of the Holy Scriptures; in the performance of both which, the *Jews* tell us, he had the assistance of what they call the Great Synagogue, (s) which, they tell us, was a Convention consisting of one hundred and twenty men, who lived all at the same time under the presidency of *Ezra*, and were assisting to him in both these two works; and among these they name *Daniel*, and his three friends *Shadrach*, *Mesach*, and *Abednego*, as the first of them, and *Simon the Just* as the last of them; though from the last mention which we have of *Daniel* in the Holy Scriptures to the time of *Simon the Just*, there had passed no less than two hundred and fifty years. But all this they reconcile by that absurd and wretched account, which they give of the History of those times. For they tell us, that the whole *Persian* Empire lasted only fifty two years (as hath been afore taken notice of,) and that the *Darius*, whom we call *Darius Hystaspis*, was the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, and that the same was the *Artaxerxes* (which they will have to be the common name of all the Kings of *Persia* in those times) who sent *Ezra* first, and afterwards *Nebemiah* to *Jerusalem* to restore the state of the *Jews*, and that *Simon the Just* was the same with *Jaddua* the High-Priest, who received *Alexander* at *Jerusalem*. And according to this account they might indeed all have lived together in the seventh year of this *Darius*, or *Artaxerxes* (as they would call him) when they say *Ezra* first went to *Jerusalem*; for that was in the middle of the said fifty-two years according to their Computation, at which time *Jaddua* might very well have been of an age capable to assist in those Coun-

(s) Vide Davidem Ganz, aliosque Judæorum Historicos, & Buxtorfii Tiberiadem cap. 10.

cils, and it is not impossible but *Daniel* might have lived down to it, for the Scriptures give us no account of his death. The truth of this matter seemeth most likely to have been, That these one hundred and twenty men were such principal Elders, as lived in a continued Succession from the first return of the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* Captivity, to the death of *Simon the Just*, and laboured in their several times, some after others, in the carrying on of the two great works above-mentioned, till both were fully compleated in the time of the said *Simon the Just* (who was made High-Priest of the *Jews* in the 25th year after the death of *Alexander the Great*) and *Ezra* had the assistance of such of them as lived in his time. But the whole conduct of the work and the glory of accomplishing it is by the *Jews* chiefly attributed to him, under whose presidency (they tell us) it was done. And therefore (t) they look on him as another *Moses*. For the Law they say was given by *Moses*, but it was revived and restored by *Ezra*, after it had been in a manner extinguished and lost in the *Babylonish* Captivity. And therefore they reckon him as the second founder of it, and it is a common opinion among them (u) that he was *Malachi* the Prophet; that he was called *Ezra* as his proper name, and *Malachi* (which signifieth an Angel or Messenger) from his Office, because he was sent as the Angel and Messenger of God to restore again the *Jewish* Religion, and establish it in the same manner as it was before the Captivity, on the foundation of the Law and the Prophets. And indeed by virtue of that ample Commission, which he had from King *Artaxerxes*, he had an opportunity of doing more herein than any other of his Nation, and he executed all the powers thereof to the utmost he was able for the resettling both of the ecclesiastical

(t) Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, c. 10. (u) Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz Chaldaeus Paraphraestes in Malachiam. Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 3.

and political state of the *Jews*, in the best posture they were then capable of, and from hence his name is in so high esteem and veneration among the *Jews*, that it is a common saying among their writers, That if the Law had not been given by *Moses*, *Ezra* was worthy by whom it should have been given.

As to the ancient and approved usages of the *Jewish* Church, which had been in practice before the Captivity, they had by *Jeshua* and *Zerubbabel* with the chief Elders their Contemporaries, and by others that after succeeded them, been a gathering together from their first return to *Jerusalem*, as they could be recovered from the Memories of the Ancients of their nation, who had either seen them practis'd themselves before the Captivity, or had been informed concerning them by their parents or others, who had lived before them. All these, and whatsoever else was pretended to be of the same nature, *Ezra* brought under a review, and having after due Examination allowed such of them as were to be allowed, and settled them by his approbation and authority, they gave birth to what the *Jews* now call their Oral Law. For they (*w*) own a twofold Law, the first the written Law, which is recorded in the Holy Scriptures, and the second the Oral Law, which they have only by the Tradition of their Elders. And both these they say were given them by *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, of which the former only was committed to writing, and the other delivered down to them from Generation to Generation by the Tradition of the Elders. And therefore holding them to be both of the same authority, as having both of them the same divine Original, they think themselves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather much more. For the written Law is, (*x*) they

(*w*) Vide Buxtorfium de Opere Talmudico, & Synagogam Judaicam ejusdem, & Maimonidis Præfationem ad Seder Zeraim. (*x*) Maimonidis Præfatio ad Seder Zeraim. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica cap. 3. & ejusdem Recensio operis Talmudici. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim Disp. 1. § 1. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 2. cap. 3. §. 3. Lightfoot's Harmony of the four Evangelists, Sect. 23.

say, in many places obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them without the Oral Law, which containing, according to them, a full, compleat and perfect interpretation of all that is written in the other, supplies all the defects, and solves all the difficulties of it. And therefore they observe the written Law no otherwise, than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their Oral Law. And hence it is a common saying among them, that the Covenant was made with them, not upon the written Law, but upon the Oral Law. And therefore they do in a manner lay aside the former to make room for the latter, and resolve their whole Religion into their Traditions, in the same manner as the *Romanists* do theirs, having no farther regard to the written word of God, than as it agrees with their traditionary Explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though in many particulars they are quite contradictory to it; which is a corruption that had grown to a great height among them even in our Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them, *Mark vii. 13.* That *they made the word of God of none effect through their Traditions.* But they have done it much more since, professing a greater regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is, that we find it so often said in their writings; that the words of the *Scribes* are lovely above the words of the Law; that the words of the Law are weighty and light, but the words of the *Scribes* are all weighty; that the words of the Elders are weightier than the words of the Prophets; (where by the words of the *Scribes* and the words of the Elders they mean the Traditions delivered to them by their *Scribes* and Elders.) And in other places; that the written Text is only as water, but the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* (in which are contained their Traditions) are as Wine and Hippocras. And again, that the written Law is only as Salt, but the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* as Pepper and Sweet Spices. And in many other Sayings very common among them do they express the high veneration, which they bear to-

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wards the Oral or Traditionary Law, and the little regard which they have to the written word of God in comparison of it, making nothing of the latter, but as expounded by the former, as if the written word were no more than the dead letter, and the Traditionary Law alone the Soul, that gives the whole life and essence thereto. And this being what they hold of their Traditions, which they call their Oral Law, the Account which they give of its Original, is as followeth

For they tell us, that at the same time, (y) when God gave unto *Moses* the Law in Mount *Sinai*, he gave unto him also the Interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to writing, but to deliver the other only by word of Mouth to be preserved in the memories of Men, and to be transmitted down by them from generation to generation by Tradition only; and from hence the former is called the written, and the other the Oral Law. And to this day all the determinations and dictates of the latter are term'd by the *Jews* Constitutions of *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, because they do as firmly believe, that he received them all from God in his forty days converse with him in that Mount, as that he then received the written Text itself: That on his return from this Converse he brought both of these Laws with him, and delivered them unto the People of *Israel* in this manner. As soon as he was returned to his Tent, he called *Aaron* thither unto him, and first delivered to him the Text, which was to be the written Law, and after that the Interpretation of it, which was the Oral Law, in the same order as he received both from God in the Mount. Then *Aaron* arising and seating himself at the right hand of *Moses*, *Eleazar* and *Itbamar*, his sons went next in, and being taught both these Laws at the

(y) Perke Avoth cap. 1. Præfatio Maimonides in Seder Zeraim in Pocockii Porta Mosis, p. 5, 6, &c. Buxtorfii recensio Operis Talmudici. David Ganz. Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.

feet of the Prophet in the same manner as *Aaron* had been, they also arose and seated themselves, the one on the left hand of *Moses*, and the other on the right hand of *Aaron*; and then the seventy Elders, who constituted the Sanhedrim or Great Senate of the Nation, went in, and being taught by *Moses* both these Laws in the same manner, they also seated themselves in the Tent; and then entered all such of the people as were desirous of knowing the Law of God, and were taught it in the same manner; after this *Moses* withdrawing, *Aaron* repeated the whole of both Laws, as he had heard it from him, and also withdrew; and then *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* repeated the same, and on their withdrawing the seventy Elders made the same repetition to the people then present; so that each of them having heard both these Laws repeated to them four times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their Memories: And that then they dispersed themselves among the whole Congregation, and communicated to all the people of *Israel* what had been thus delivered unto them by the Prophet of God: That they did put the Text into writing, but the Interpretation of it they delivered down only by word of mouth to the succeeding Generations: That the written Text contained the six hundred and thirteen precepts, into which they divide the Law, and the unwritten interpretations all the manners, ways, and circumstances, that were to be observed in the keeping of them: That after this, towards the end of the fortieth year from their coming up out of the Land of *Egypt*, in the beginning of the eleventh Month (which fell about the middle of our *January*) *Moses* calling all the People of *Israel* together, acquainted them of the approaching time of his death, and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot ought of what he had delivered to them, they should repair to him, and he wou'd repeat to them anew what had slip'd their memories, and farther explain unto them every difficulty and doubt, which might arise in their minds concerning what

what he had taught them of the Law of their God: And that hereon they applying to him, all the remaining time of his life, that is from the said beginning of the eleventh month till the sixth day of the twelfth month, was employed in instructing them anew in the Text, which they call the Written Law, and in the Interpretations of it, which they call the Oral Law: And that on the said sixth day having delivered to them thirteen Copies of the Written Law, all copied out with his own hand from the beginning of *Genesis* to the end of *Deuteronomy*, one to each of the twelve Tribes, to be kept by them throughout their Generations, and the thirteenth to the *Levites* to be laid up by them in the Tabernacle before the Lord, and having moreover then anew repeated the Oral Law to *Joshua* his Successor, he went on the seventh day up into Mount *Nebo*, and there died: That after his death *Joshua* delivered the said Oral Law to the Elders, who after succeeded him, and they delivered it to the Prophets, and the Prophets transmitted it down from each other, till it came to *Jeremiab*, who delivered it to *Baruch*, and *Baruch* to *Ezra*, by whom it was delivered to the men of the great Synagogue, the last of whom was *Simon the Just*: That by him it was delivered to *Antigonus of Socho*, and by him to *Jose the Son of Jochanan*, and by him to *Jose the Son of Joexer*, and by him to *Nathan the Arbelite* and *Joshua the Son of Perachiab*, and by them to *Judah the Son of Tabbai* and *Simeon the Son of Skatab*, and by them to *Skemaiah* and *Abtalion*, and by them to *Hillel*, and by *Hillel* to *Simeon* his Son, who is supposed to have been the same, that took our Saviour into his Arms, when he was brought to the Temple to be there presented to the Lord at the time of his mother's purification, and by *Simeon* it was delivered to *Gamaliel* his son (the same at whose feet *Paul* was brought up) and by him to *Simeon* his son, by him to *Gamaliel* his son, and by him to *Simeon* his son, and by him to *Rabbah Judah*

Hakkadosh his son, who wrote it into the Book which they call the *Mishnah*.

But all this is mere fiction, spun out of the fertile invention of the *Talmudists*, without the least foundation either in Scripture, or in any authentick History for it. But since all this is now made a Part of the *Jewish* Creed, and they do as firmly believe their Traditions to have thus come from God in the manner I have related, as they do the written word itself, and have now, as it were, wholly resolved their Religion into these Traditions, there is no understanding what their Religion at present is without it. And it is for this reason, that I have here inserted it.

But the truth of the matter is this. After the death of *Simon the Just* (z) there arose a sort of men, whom they call the *Tannaim* or the *Mishnical* Doctors, that made it their business to study and descant upon those Traditions which had been received and allowed by *Ezra*, and the men of the great Synagogue, and to draw inferences and consequences from them, all which they ingrafted into the body of these ancient Traditions, as if they had been as Authentick as the other; which example being followed by those who after succeeded them in this profession, they continually added their own imaginations to what they had received from those that went before them, whereby these Traditions becoming as a Snow-ball, the farther they rolled down from one Generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew. And thus it went on to the middle of the second Century after Christ, when *Antoninus Pius* governed the *Roman* Empire, by which time they found it necessary to put all these Traditions into writing. For they were then grown to so great a number, and enlarged to

(z) Zemach David. Juchasin Shalsheleth Haccabbala. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, & 2611.

so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of being any longer preserved by the memory of men. And besides on the second destruction, which their Country had undergone from the *Romans* a little before, in the reign of *Adrian* the preceding Emperor, most of their learned men having been cut off, and the chiefest of their Schools broken up and dissolved, and vast numbers of their people dissipated and driven out of their Land, the usual method of preserving their Traditions had then in a great measure failed. And therefore there being danger, that under these disadvantages they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof it was resolved, that they should all be collected together and put into a Book; and *Rabbi Judah the son of Simeon*, who from the reputed Sanctity of his life was called *Hakkadosh*, that is the Holy, and was then Rector of the School which they had at *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, and President of the Sanhedrim that there sat, undertook the work, and compiled it in six Books, each consisting of several Tracts, which altogether make up the number of sixty-three; in which under their proper heads he methodically digested all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their Law and their Religion, by the Tradition of their Ancestors. And this is the Book called the *Mishnah*; which Book was forthwith received by the *Jews* with great veneration throughout all their dispersions, and hath ever since been held in high esteem among them; for their opinion of it is, that all the particulars therein contained were dictated by God himself to *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, as well as the written word itself, and consequently must be of the same divine authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed. And therefore as soon as it was published, it became the subject of the studies of all their learned men, and the chiefest of them both in *Judea* and *Babylonia* employed themselves to make Comments on it, and these with the *Mishna* make up both their *Talmuds*, that is the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and the *Babylonish Talmud*.

mud. These Comments they call the *Gemara*, i. e. The Complement, because by them the *Mishna* is fully explained, and the whole Traditionary Doctrine of their Law and their Religion compleated. For the *Mishnah* is the Text, and the *Gemara* the Comment, and both together is what they call the *Talmud*. That made by the *Jews* of *Judea* is called the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and that made by the *Jews* of *Babylonia* is called the *Babylonish Talmud*. The former was compleated about the year of our Lord three hundred, and is published in one large Folio; The latter was published about two hundred years after, in the beginning of the sixth Century, and hath had several Editions since the Invention of printing; the last published at *Amsterdam* is in twelve Folio's. And in these two *Talmuds* (the Law and the Prophets being in a manner quite justled out by them) is contained the whole of the *Jewish* Religion that is now professed among them. But the *Babylonish Talmud* is that which they chiefly follow. For the other, that is the *Jerusalem Talmud*, being obscure and hard to be understood, is not now much regarded by them. But this and the *Mishnah* being the Ancientest Books which they have (except the *Chaldee* Paraphrases of *Onkelos* and *Jonatban*) and both written in the language and stile of the *Jews* of *Judea*, our Countryman Dr. *Lightfoot* hath made very good use of them in explaining several places of the *New Testament*, by parallel phrases and sayings out of them. For the one being composed about the one hundred and fifteenth year of our Lord, and the other about the three hundredth, the Idioms, Proverbial Sayings, and Phraseologies used in our Saviour's time, might very well be preserved in them. But the other *Talmud* being written in the language and stile of *Babylonia*, and not compiled till about the five hundredth year of our Lord, or as some will have it much later, this cannot so well serve for this purpose. However it is now the *Alcoran* of the *Jews*, into which they have resolved all their Faith and all their Religion, although

although framed (almost with the same Imposture as that of *Mahomet*) out of Doctrines falsely pretended to be brought from Heaven. And in this Book all, that now pretend to any learning among them, place their Studies, and no one can be a Master in their Schools, or a Teacher in their Synagogues, who is not well instructed and versed herein, that is, not only in the Text, which is the *Mishna*, but also in the Comment thereon which is the *Gemara*. And this Comment they so highly esteem beyond the other, that the name of *Gemara* is wholly engrossed by it, the *Gemara* of the *Babylonish Talmud* being that only, which they now usually understand by that word. For this with the *Mishnah* to which it is added, they think, doth truly compleat and make up the whole of their Religion, as fully and perfectly containing all the Doctrines, Rules, and Rites thereof, and therefore it is in their opinion the most deserving of that name, which signifieth what compleats, fills up or perfects, for this is the meaning of the word in the *Hebrew* language. Out of this *Talmud Maimonides* hath made an abstract, containing only the Resolutions or Determinations made therein on every case, without the Descants, Disputes, Fables and other Trash under which they lay buried in that vast load of rubbish. This work is entitled by him *Yad Hachazakah*, and is one of the compleatest Digests of Law that was ever made, I mean not as to the matter, but in respect only of the clearness of the stile and method, in which it is composed, the filthy mass of dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehensive manner in which he hath digested the whole. Others among them have attempted the like work, but none have been able to exceed or come nigh him herein. And for this and other of his writings he is deservedly esteemed the best Author among them. They who professed this sort of Learning, that is taught and propagated these Traditionary Doctrines among them, have been distinguished by several different Titles and Appellations, according

ing to the different ages in which they lived. From the time of the men of the Great Synagogue to the publishing of the *Mishna*, they were called (a) *Tannaim*, and they are the *Mishnical* Doctors, out of whose Doctrines and Traditions the *Mishnah* was composed. And from the time of the publishing of the *Mishnah* to the publishing of the *Babylonish Talmud* they were called (b) *Amoraim*, and they are the *Gemarical* Doctors, out of whose Doctrines and Traditions the *Gemara* was composed. And for about an hundred years after the publishing of the *Talmud*, they were called (c) *Seburaim*, and after that (d) *Geonim*. And these were the several Classes in which their learned Men have been ranked, according to the several ages in which they formerly lived. But for these later times the general Name of *Rabbi* is that only whereby their learned men are called, there being no other Title whereby they have been distinguished for near seven hundred Years past. For about the year 1040 all their Schools in *Mesopotamia*, where only they enjoyed these high Titles, being destroyed, and all their learned Men thence expelled and driven out by the *Mahometan* Princes, who then governed in those Parts, they have since that with the greatest number of their People flocked into these Western Parts, especially into *Spain*, *France* and *England*. And from that time all these Pompous Titles which they affected in the East, being here dropp'd, they have retained none other for their learned Men from that time, but that of *Rabbi*, excepting only that those

(a) The word *Tannaim* hath its derivation from *Tanah*, which signifieth to deliver by Tradition, and is the same in Chaldee with *Shanah* in the Hebrew, from whence the word *Mishnah* is derived. (b) i. e. Dictators; because they dictated those explications upon the *Mishnah*, which are contained in the *Gemara*. (c) i. e. Opinionists, for they did not dictate any doctrines, but only inferr'd opinions by disputation, and probable Arguments from what had been afore dictated and received in the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*. (d) i. e. The sublime or excellent Doctors; they were so called from the sublimity and excellency of their Learning.

of them who minister in their Synagogues are called
(e) *Chacams*, i. e. Wife-Men.

But the (f) great work of *Ezra* was his collecting together and setting forth a correct Edition of the Holy Scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. This both Christians and *Jews* give him the honour of, and many of the ancient Fathers attribute more to him in this particular, than the *Jews* themselves. For they hold that all the Scriptures were lost and destroyed in the *Babylonish* Captivity, and that *Ezra* restored them all again by divine Revelation. Thus saith (g) *Irenæus*, and thus say (b) *Tertullian*, (i) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (k) *Basil* and (l) others. But they had no other foundation for it, than that fabulous Relation, which we have of it in the fourteenth Chapter of the second Apocryphal Book of *Esdras*, a Book too absurd for the *Romanists* themselves to receive into their Canon. Indeed in the time of *Josiab*, through the impiety of the two preceeding Reigns of *Manasseb* and *Ammon*, the Book of the Law was so destroyed and lost, that besides that Copy of it (m) which *Hilkiab* found in the Temple, there was then none other to be had: For the surprise which *Hilkiab* is said to be in at the finding of it, and the grief which *Josiab* expressed at the hearing of it read, do plainly shew, that neither of them had ever seen it before. And if the King, and the High-Priest, who were both men of eminent Piety, were without this part of Holy Scripture, it can scarce be thought that any one else then had it. But so Religious a Prince as King *Josiab*, could not leave this long unremedied. By his Order Copies were forthwith written out from this Original, and

(e) *Chacam* in the Hebrew language signifieth a Wife-man.
(f) Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, cap. 11. (g) *Adversus Hæreses* lib. 3. cap. 25. (b) *De habitu Mulierum* cap. 3.
(i) *Strom.* 1. (k) *In Epistola ad Chilonem.* (l) *Hieronymus contra Helvidium.* *Augustinus de Miraculis Sacræ Scripturæ* lib. 2.
Chrysostomus Hom. 8. *in Epist. ad Hebræos.* (m) *2 Kings xxii.*
2 Chron. xxxiv.

search being made for all the other parts of Holy Scripture, both in the Colleges of the sons of the Prophets, and all other places where they could be found, care was taken for Transcripts to be made out of these also, and thenceforth Copies of the whole became multiplied among the people, all those who were desirous of knowing the Law of their God either writing them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them. So that though within a few years after the Holy City and Temple were destroyed, and the authentic Copy of the Law, which was laid up before the Lord, was burnt and consumed with them, yet by this time many Copies both of the Law and the Prophets, and all the other sacred Writings, were got into private hands, who carried them with them into their Captivity. That *Daniel* had a Copy of the Holy Scriptures with him in *Babylon* it's certain; for he (n) quotes the Law, and also makes mention (o) of the Prophecies of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, which he could not do had he never seen them. And in the sixth Chapter of *Ezra* it is said, that on the finishing of the Temple in the sixth year of *Darius*, the Priests and the *Levites* were settled in their respective Functions, according as it is written in the Law of *Moses*; but how could they do this according to the written Law, if they had not Copies of the Law then among them? and this was near sixty years before *Ezra* came to *Jerusalem*. And farther, in the eighth Chapter of *Nehemiah*, when the people call'd for the Law of *Moses*, to have it read to them, they did not pray *Ezra* to get it anew dictated unto him, but that he should bring forth the Book of the Law of *Moses*, which the Lord had commanded to *Israel*; which plainly shews that the Book was then well known to have been extant, and not to need such a Miraculous Expedient, as that of a divine Revelation, for its restoration; and it would with many very much shock the

(n) Daniel ix. 11, 13.

(o) Daniel ix. 2.

faith of the whole, should it be held, that it owed its present being to such a revival, it being obvious for Sceptical Persons in this case to object, that he who should be said thus to revive it, then forged the whole. All that *Ezra* did in this matter, was to get together as many Copies of the sacred Writings as he could, and out of them all set forth a correct Edition, in the performance of which he took care of these following particulars.

I. He corrected all the Errors that had crept into these Copies through the negligence or mistakes of Transcribers. For by comparing them one with the other he found out the true reading, and set all at rights. Whether the (p)^m *Keri Cetib*, that are in our present *Hebrew Bibles*, were of these corrections, I durst not say; the Generality (q) of the *Jewish Writers* tell us that they were, and others among them hold them much ancients, referring them with absurdity enough even as high up as the very times of the first writers of the Books, in which they are found, as if they themselves had designedly made these various readings for the sake of some mysteries comprised under them. It is most probable that they had their original from the mistakes of the Transcribers after the name of *Ezra*, and the observations and corrections of the *Masorites* made thereon. If any of them were of those ancient various readings, which had been observed by *Ezra* himself in the comparing of those Copies he collated on this occasion, and were by him annexed in the margin, as corrections of those errors, which he found in the Text; it's certain those could not be of that number, which are now in those sacred Books that were

(p) *The Keri Cetib are various Readings in the Hebrew Bible. Keri signifieth that which is read, and Cetib that which is written. For where there are any such various Readings, the wrong Reading is written in the Text (and that is called the Cetib) and the true Reading is written in the Margin (and that is called the Keri)* (q) *De Keri Cetib vide Arcanum punctuationis Revelatum lib. 1. cap. 7. Buxtorfii vindicias veritatis Hebraicæ Part. 2. Cap. 4. & Wakoni Prolegom. 8. § 18, 19, &c.*

written by himself, or taken into the Canon after his time. For there are *Keri Cetib's* in them as well as in the other Books of the *Hebrew Scriptures*.

II. He collected together all the Books of which the Holy Scriptures did then consist, and disposed them in their proper order, and settled the Canon of Scripture for his time. These Books he (r) divided into three parts, 1st, The Law, 2^{dly}, The Prophets, and 3^{dly}, The *Cetubim* or *Hagiographa*, i. e. the Holy Writings; which division our Saviour himself takes notice of *Luke xxiv. 44.* where he saith; *These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled which are written in the Law, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me.* For there by the Psalms he means the whole third part called the *Hagiographa*. For that Part beginning with the Psalms, the whole was for that reason then commonly called by that name, as usually with the *Jews* the particular Books are named from the words with which they begin. Thus with them *Genesis* is called *Beresith*, *Exodus* *Shemoth*, *Leviticus* *Vajikra*, &c. because they begin with these *Hebrew* words. And *Josephus* makes mention of this same Division. For he saith in his first Book against *Apion*, *We have only two and twenty Books, which are to be believed as of divine authority, of which five are the Books of Moses. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes King of Persia, the Prophets, who were the Successors of Moses, have written in thirteen Books. The remaining four Books contain Hymns to God, and Documents of life for the use of men.* In which Division according to him the Law contains, 1 *Genesis*, 2 *Exodus*, 3 *Leviticus*, 4 *Numbers*, 5 *Deuteronomy*; The writings of the Prophets, 1 *Joshua*, 2 *Judges* with *Ruth*, 3 *Samuel*, 4 *Kings*, 5 *Isaiah*, 6 *Jeremiah* with his *Lamentations*, 7 *Ezekiel*, 8 *Daniel*, 9

(r) Buxtorfii Tiberias cap. 11. Shickardi Bechinath Happerushim Cap. 1. §. 6. Elias Levita in Masoreth Hammasoreth. Leusdeni Præfatio ad Biblia Athiæ.

The twelve minor Prophets, 10 *Job*, 11 *Ezra*, 12 *Nehemiah*, 13 *Esther*; And the *Hagiographa*, 1 the *Psalms*, 2 the *Proverbs*, 3 *Ecclesiastes*, 4 the *Song of Solomon*, which all together make two and twenty Books. This (s) Division was made for the sake of reducing the Books to the number of their Alphabet, in which were two and twenty Letters. But at present (t) they reckon these Books to be twenty four, and dispose of them in this order. First the Law, which contains 1 *Genesis*, 2 *Exodus*, 3 *Leviticus*, 4 *Numbers*, 5 *Deuteronomy*; 2dly, the writings of the Prophets, which they divide into the former Prophets, and the latter Prophets, the Books of the former Prophets are, 6 *Josbua*, 7 *Judges*, 8 *Samuel*, 9 *Kings*; And the Books of the latter Prophets are 10 *Isaiab*, 11 *Jeremiah*, 12 *Ezekiel*, and 13 the twelve minor Prophets: 3dly, the *Hagiographa*, which are, 14 the *Psalms*, 15 the *Proverbs*, 16 *Job*, 17 the *Song of Solomon*, which they call the *Song of Songs*, 18 *Ruth*, 19 the *Lamentations*, 20 *Ecclesiastes*, 21 *Esther*, 22 *Daniel*, 23 *Ezra*, and 24 the *Chronicles*. Under the name of *Ezra* they comprehend the Book of *Nehemiah*. For the *Hebrews* and also the *Greeks* anciently reckoned *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* but as one Book; But (u) this order hath not been always observ'd among the *Jews*, neither is it so now in all places. For there hath been great variety as to this, and that not only among the *Jews*, but also among the *Christians*, as well *Greeks* as *Latins*. But no variation herein is of any moment. For in what order soever the Books are placed, they are still the word of God, and no change as to this can make any change in that divine authority which is stamped upon them. But all these Books were not received into the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in *Ezra's* time. For *Malachi*, it's

(s) Hieronymus in Prologo Galeato. (t) Buxtorfii Tiberias cap. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim cap. 1. § 6. Leusdeni præfatio ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ. (u) Vide Hodium de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus.

supposed, lived after him, and in *Nehemiah* mention is made of *Jaddua* as High-Priest, and of *Darius Codomannus* as King of *Persia*, who were at least an hundred years after his time; and in the third Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*, the Genealogy of the sons of *Zerubbabel* is carried down for so many Generations, as must necessarily make it reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*; and therefore this Book could not be put into the Canon till after his time. It is most likely, that the two Books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Esther*, as well as *Malachi*, were afterwards added in the time of *Simon the Just*, and that it was not till then, that the Jewish Canon of the Holy Scriptures was fully compleated. And indeed these last Books seem very much to want the exactness and skill of *Ezra* in their publication, they falling far short of the correctness which is in the other parts of the *Hebrew* Scriptures. The five Books of the Law are divided (w) into fifty four Sections. This Division many of the *Jews* hold to be one of the Constitutions of *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*. But others with more likelihood of truth attribute it to *Ezra*. It was made for the use of their Synagogues, and the better instructing of the people there in the Law of God. For (x) every Sabbath-day one of these Sections was read in their Synagogues. And this, we are assured in the Acts of the Apostles, was done amongst them (y) of old time, which may well be interpreted from the time of *Ezra*. They ended the last Section with the last words of *Deuteronomy* on the Sabbath of the Feast of Tabernacles, and then begun anew with the first Section from the beginning of *Genesis* the next Sabbath after, and so went round in this Circle every year. The number of these Sections was fifty four, be-

(w) Buxtorfii Tiberias Cap. 11. & Tract. de Parashis & Synagoga Judaica c. 16. & cap. 27. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim Cap. 1. § 6. Præfatio Leusdeni ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ. Elias in Tisbite.

(x) Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica c. 16. (y) Acts xv. 21.

cause in their intercalated years (a Month being then added) there were fifty four Sabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of the Sabbaths which were in those years, by joining two short ones several times into one. For they held themselves obliged to have the whole Law thus read over in their Synagogues every year. Till the time of the Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, they read only the Law: (z) But then being forbid to read it any more, in the room of the fifty four Sections of the Law they substituted fifty four Sections out of the Prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that when the reading of the Law was again restored by the *Maccabees*, the Section which was read every Sabbath out of the Law, served for their first Lesson; and the Section out of the Prophets for their second Lesson; and so it was practised in the time of the Apostles. And therefore when *Paul* entered into the Synagogue at *Antiochia*, in *Pisidia*, it is said that (a) *he stood up to preach, after the reading of the Law and the Prophets*, that is after the reading of the first Lesson out of the Law, and the second Lesson out of the Prophets. And in that very Sermon which he then preached, he tells them, (b) *that the Prophets were read at Jerusalem every Sabbath-day*, that is, in those Lessons which were taken out of the Prophets.

These Sections were divided into verses, which the *Jews* call *Pesukim*. They are marked out in the *Hebrew Bibles* by two great points at the end of them, called from hence *Soph-Pasuk*, i. e. *The end of the Verse*. If *Ezra* himself was not the Author of this Division (as most say) it was not long after him, that it was introduced; for certainly it is very ancient. It is most likely it was invented for the sake of the *Targumists* or *Chaldee Interpreters*. For after

(z) *Elias in Tisbite*. Buxtorfius & Schickardus *ibid.* Hottingeri *Theaurus lib. 1. c. 2. sect. 5. n. 3.* (a) *Acts xiii. 15.* (b) *Acts xiii. 27.*

the *Hebrew* Language had ceased to be the Mother-Tongue of the *Jews*, and the *Chaldee* grew up into use among them instead of it, (as (c) was their case after their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity) their usage was (d) that in the publick reading of the Law to the people it was read to them first in the Original *Hebrew*, and after that rendered by an Interpreter into the *Chaldee* Language, that so all might fully understand the same. And this was done Period by Period. And therefore, that these Periods might be the better distinguished, and the Reader more certainly know how much to read at every interval, and the Interpreter how much to interpret at every interval, there was a necessity that some marks should be invented for their direction herein. The (e) rule given in their ancient Books, is, That in the Law the Reader was to read one verse, and then the Interpreter was to render the same into the *Chaldee*; But that in the Prophets the Reader was to read three verses together, and then the Interpreter to render the same three verses into *Chaldee* in the same manner; which manifestly proves, that the Division of the Scriptures into verses must be as ancient, as the way of interpreting them into the *Chaldee* Language in their Synagogues; which was from the very time that Synagogues were erected, and the Scriptures publickly read in them after the *Babylonish* Captivity. This was at first done only in the Law; (for (f) till the time of the *Maccabees* the Law only was read in their Synagogues) but afterwards in imitation hereof the same was also done in the Prophets, and the Ha-

(c) David Kimchi in præfatione ad Michlol. Ephodæi Gram. c. 7. Elias Levita in Præfatione ad Methurgeman. (d) Waltoni Prolegom. 3. § 24. Lightfoot. vol. 1. p. 215, 220, 357, & 1012. vol. 2. p. 545, & 803. Buxtorfii Dissertatio de Linguae Hebraeæ conservatione p. 197. Morini Exercit. Bibl. P. 2. Exerc. 9. c. 5. § 9. Hottingeri Thesaurus lib. 1. c. 3. § 3. q. 1. Maimonides in Tephillin. c. 12. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, cap. 2. § 1. (e) Mishna in Tract. Megilla c. 4. Tract. Sopherim cap. 11. (f) Buxtorfius in Bibliotheca Rabbinica p. 283.

giographa, especially after that the Prophets began also to be publickly read among them, as well as the Law; and from hence the Division of the Holy Scriptures into verses, it's most likely, was first made, but without any numerical figures annexed to them. The manner whereby they are now distinguished in their common *Hebrew Bibles* is by the two great points, called *Soph-Pasuk*, above-mentioned. But whether this was the Ancient way, is by some made a question. The objection raised against it is this, If the Distinction of verses was introduced for the sake of the *Chaldee* Interpreters in their Synagogues, and must therefore be held as ancient as that way of interpreting the Scriptures in them, (g) it must then have place in their Sacred Synagogical Books. For none other were used either by the Readers, or their Interpreters in their publick Assemblies. But it hath been (h) anciently held as a Rule among them, that any points or accents written into these Sacred Books, pollute and profane them, and therefore no Copy either of the Law or the Prophets now used in their Synagogues, hath any points or accents written in it. To this I answer, Whatever may be the Practice of the Modern *Jews*, this is no rule to let us know what was the ancient practice among them, since in many particulars they have varied from the ancient usages, as they now do from each other, according to the different parts of the world in which they dwell. The Division of the Law and the Prophets into verses among the *Jews*, is certainly very ancient. For mention is made of them in (i) the *Mishnah*; and that the reason of this Division was for the direction of the Readers and the *Chaldee* Interpreters is also there implied. And therefore supposing such

(g) Morinus in *Exercitationibus Biblicis* Part. 2. Exercit. 15. cap. 1. § 9. (h) Tract. *Sopherim* cap. 3. Morini Exercit. Bibl. Part 2. Exercit. 15. c. 4. (i) Tract. *Megilla* Cap. 4. § 4. ubi dicitur: *Quid legit in Lege non leget minus quam tres versus. Non leget Interpreti plus quam unum versum, & in Prophetis tres.*

a division for this use, it must necessarily follow, that there must have been some marks to set it out, otherwise it could not have answered the end intended. Those (k) that say these verses were distinguished by a set number of lines of which they consisted, seem not to have considered, that a line often ends in an imperfect sense, and in the middle of a sentence. And therefore a Division into verses this way could not serve the end for which the *Mishnah* makes mention of them, that is for the direction of the Readers and *Chaldee* Interpreters in their Synagogues. For there could be no true reading or true interpreting, if the stop were made otherwise, than at the end of a full sentence. And therefore if the distinction of verses in their Sacred Synagogical Books were anciently discernible only by lines, it could be no otherwise according to the manner, in which *Maimonides* says they were written, than by ending of the last line of the verse in a Break. For that (l) Author out of the *Talmud* tells us, That the parchments, on which they were written, were to be of six hands breadth, and of as many in length, and the writing of them to be in six columns, each column being of an hand's breadth; and that each line in these columns was to contain thirty of their letters. And therefore if a Break were made, where the last line of the verse ended, and the next verse were begun with a new line, this would, I acknowledge, be sufficient to set out the distinction of these verses, and make them fully answer the end intended: But there are two exceptions against it. The first is, that such Breaks could not always be made, because sometimes the verse might be run out to the end of the last line, and so leave no space at all for a Break, and then there could no distinction at all be made this way between that Verse and the next. And the second

(k) Morinus in Exercitationibus Biblicis Part. 2. Exercit. 15. cap. 2.

(l) Maimonides de libro Legis cap. 7. & cap. 9. Talmud in Bava Bathra fol. 16.

is, (*m*) that those who hold this opinion, that the verses were to be reckoned by lines, allow only two of the lines above-mentioned to a verse; but there are many verses, which cannot be written in fewer than five or six of those lines. It is most likely that anciently the writing of those Books was in long lines from one side of the Parchment to the other, and that the verses in them were distinguished in the same manner as the *Stichi* afterwards were in the *Greek* Bibles. For (*n*) the Manner of their writing those *Stichi* at first was, to allow a line to every *Stichus*, and there to end the writing, where they ended the *Stichus*, leaving the rest of the line void in the same manner as a line is left at a Break. But this losing too much of the Parchment, and making the Book too bulky, for the avoiding of both these inconveniencies the way afterwards was to put a point at the end of every *Stichus*, and so continue the writing without leaving any part of the Line void as before. And in the same manner I conceive the *Pesukin* or Verses of the *Hebrew* Bibles were anciently written. At first they allowed a line to every verse; and a line drawn from one side of the Parchment to the other, of the length as above-mentioned, was sufficient to contain any verse that is now in the *Hebrew* Bible. But many verses falling short of this length, they found the same inconveniencies that the *Greeks* after did in the first way of their writing their *Stichi*, and therefore came to the same remedy, that is, they did put the two points above-mentioned (which they call *Soph Pasuk*) at the place where the former verse ended, and continued the writing of the next verse in the same line, without leaving any void space at all therein. And so their manner hath continued ever since, excepting only that between their Sections, as well the Smaller as the Greater, there is some void space left to make the distinction between them. And I am the more inclined

(*m*) Morinus *ibid.*
Testamentum, p. 90.

(*n*) Vide Millii *Prolegomena ad Græcum*

to think this to be the truth of the matter, that is, that anciently the verses of the *Hebrew Bible* were so many lines therein, because among the Ancients of other Nations about the same time, the Lines in the writings of Prose Authors as well as of Poets, were termed verses; and hence it is that we are told, (o) that *Zoroastres's* works contained two millions of verses, and (p) *Aristotle's* 445270, tho' neither of them wrote any thing but in Prose; and so also we find the writings (q) of *Tully*, (r) of *Origen*, (s) of *Lactantius*, and (t) others, who were all Prose-writers, reckoned by the number of verses, which could be no other than so many lines. And why then might not the Bible verses anciently have been of the same nature also? I mean when written in long lines as aforesaid. But the long lines often occasioning, that in reading to the end of one verse they lost the beginning of the next, and so often did read wrong, either by skipping a line, or beginning the same again; for (u) the avoiding of this they came to the

(o) Plin. lib. 3. c. 1, (p) Diogenes Laertius in vitâ Aristotelis. (q) Asconius Pedianus Ciceronis verba citat *versu à primo octingentesimo quinquagesimo*, &c. (r) Hieronymus in Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, & alibi. (s) Hieronymus in Epistola 124 ad Damasum. (t) Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda. In hoc volumine vitas Excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures Scriptores ante nos explicarunt. And Josephus tells us in the conclusion of his *Antiquities*, that this work of his contained 20 Books and sixty thousand $\epsilon\lambda\chi\omicron\varsigma$ or verses. For the Greek $\epsilon\lambda\chi\omicron\varsigma$ is the same with the Latin Versus, and both the same Originally with what we call a Line in writing. For Versus properly is a Line whether in Prose or Verse, and is so called à vertendo, because the writer when he is got to the end of one line turns back his Hand and begins the next, and so doth the reader also his eye from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. Vide Menagii observationes in Diogenis Laertii lib. 4. N. 24. Jerom also in his preface before his Latin Version of the Book of Daniel saith, that Methodius, Eusebius and Apollinarius answered the Objections of Porphyry against the Scriptures multis versuum millibus, i. e. by many thousand of verses, that is lines; for they all wrote in prose. (u) Maimonides in Libro Legis cap. 7.

way of writing in Columns, and in short lines as is above mentioned. But all this I mean of their Sacred Synagogical Books. In their common Bibles they are not tied up to such rules, but write and print them so, as they may best serve for their instruction and convenience in common Use. If the *Jews* at present in their Synagogical Books leave out the two points *Soph Pasuk* at the end of the verses, it proceeds from their wresting the rule above-mentioned, against putting points or accents into their Sacred Books, to a too rigorous meaning. For by those points therein mentioned seem to be understood no other points than the vowel points, and such others as affect the Text in the reading. But these two points at the end of every verse only terminate the Period, without affecting at all either the words or the letters. But it is no new thing for the *Jews*, out of an over-superstitious interpretation of their Traditions, to make innovations in their ancient usages, especially while they had their Schools and Universities in (w) *Mesopotamia*, and there held their Synedrial and Consistorial Assemblies of their Rabbi's, in which they hammer'd their Law, and also their ancient Traditions, by a vast number of new Constitutions and new Determinations, into what Form they pleased.

But the Division of the holy Scriptures into Chapters, as we now have them, is of a much latter date. The Psalms indeed were always divided as at present. For (x) *St. Paul* in his Sermon at *Antioch* in *Pisidia* quotes the second Psalm. But as to the rest of the Holy Scriptures, the Division of them into such Chapters as at present, is what the (y) *Ancients* knew

(w) *They had these Schools at Naerda, Sora, and Pumbeditha in Mesopotamia till about the year of our Lord 1040, when they were driven out thence by the Mahometan Princes, that reigned in those parts.* (x) *Acts xiii. 33.* (y) *The Greek Bibles among Christians anciently had their τίτλοι and κεφάλαια, but the intent of them was rather to point out the sum or contents of the Text, than to divide the Books; and they were vastly different from the present Chapters. For many of them contained only a very few verses, and some of them no more than one.*

nothing of. (z) Some attribute it to *Stephen Langton*, who was Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the reigns of King *John*, and King *Henry* the third his Son. But the true Author of this Invention was *Hugo de Sancto Caro*, who being from a *Dominican* Monk advanced to the dignity of a Cardinal, and the first of that order that was so, is commonly called *Hugo Cardinalis*. The whole occasion and history of this matter, and the progress of it to the state it is now in, is as followeth.

This (a) *Cardinal Hugo*, who flourished about the year 1240, and died in the year 1262, had laboured much in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and made a Comment on the whole of them. The carrying on of this work administered to him the occasion of inventing the first Concordance, that was made of the Holy Scriptures, that is that of the vulgar *Latin Bible*. For conceiving that such an Index of all the words and phrases in the Holy Scriptures, would be of great use for the attaining of a better understanding of them, he projected a scheme for the making of it, and forthwith set a great number of the Monks of his Order on the collecting of the words under their proper Classes in every letter of the Alphabet, in order to this design, and by the help of so many hands he soon brought it to what he intended. This work was afterwards much improved by those who followed him, especially by *Arlottus Thuscus*, and *Conradus Halberstadius*, the former a *Franciscan*, and the other a *Dominican* Frier, who both lived about the end of the same Century. But the whole end and aim of the work being for the easier finding of any word or passage in the Holy Scriptures; to make it answer this purpose, the Cardinal found it necessary in the first place to divide the Books into Sections,

(z) Balæus Cent. 3. p. 275. (a) Buxtorfii Præfatio ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus in Exercit. Bibl. Part. 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 3. Gerebrardus in Chronico ad Annum Christi 1244. Sixtus Senensis Bibliothec. lib. 3. Hottingeri Thesaurus lib. 3. c. 2. sect. 5. Capelli Arcanum Punctationis lib. 2. cap. 17. § 8. and

and the Sections into Under-divisions, that by these he might the better make the references, and the more exactly point out in the Index, where every word or passage might be found in the Text. For 'till then every Book of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar *Latin* Bibles was without any Division at all; and therefore had the Index referred only to the Book, the whole Book perchance must have been read over ere that could be found, which was sought for. But by referring to it by this Division and Subdivision, it was immediately had at first sight. And these Sections are the Chapters, which the Bible hath ever since been divided into. For on the publishing of this Concordance, the Usefulness of it being immediately discerned, all coveted to have it, and for the sake of the use of it, all divided their Bibles in the same manner as *Hugo* had done. For the references in the Concordance being made by these Chapters, and the subdivisions of them, unless their Bibles were so divided too, the Concordance would be of no use to them. And thus this Division of the several Books of the Bible into Chapters had its Original, which hath ever since been made use of in all places, and among all people, wherever the Bible itself is used in these western parts of the World. But the Subdivision of the Chapters was not then by verses as now. *Hugo's* way of subdividing them was by the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. placed in the Margin at an equal distance from each other, according as the Chapters were longer or shorter. In long Chapters all the seven Letters were used, in others fewer, according as the length which the Chapters were of did require. For the Subdivision of Chapters by verses, which is now in all our Bibles, was not introduced into them 'till some ages after, and then it was from the *Jews* that the use hereof, as now among us, first had its Original on this occasion. About (b) the year 1430 there

(b) *Præfatio Buxtorfii ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus Exercit. Bibl. Part. 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 3.*

lived here among the Western *Jews* a famous Rabbi, called by some *Rabbi Mordecai Nathan*, by others *Rabbi Isaac Nathan*, and by many by both these names, as if he were first called by one of them, and then by a change of it by the other. This *Rabbi* being much conversant with the Christians, and having frequent Disputes with their learned men about Religion, he thereby came to the Knowledge of the great use which they made of the *Latin* Concordance composed by *Cardinal Hugo*, and the benefit which they had thereby, in the ready finding of any place in the Scriptures, that they had occasion to consult ; which he was so much taken with, that he immediately set about the making of such a Concordance to the *Hebrew* Bible for the use of the *Jews*. He began this work in the year of our Lord 1438, and finished it in the year 1445, so that he was just seven years in the Composing of it. And the first publishing of it happening about the time that printing (c) was first invented, it hath since that time undergone several Editions from the Press. That which was printed at *Basil* by *Buxtorf the Son*, Anno 1632, is the best of them. For *Buxtorf the Father* had taken great pains about it to make it more correct and compleat ; and *Buxtorf the Son* added also his labours to those of his Father for the perfecting of it, and published it with both their Improvements in the year I have mentioned ; and by reason of the advantages it hath received herefrom, it deservedly hath the reputation of being the perfectest and best Book of its kind that is extant ; and indeed is so useful for the understanding of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, that no one who employs his studies this way, can well be without it, being the best Dictionary as well as the best Concordance to them. In the composing of this Book, *Rabbi Nathan* finding it necessary to follow the same Division

(c) Printing was first invented at Mentz in Germany by John Fust and John Guttenberg, Anno Domini, 1440. See Calvisius under that year, and Pancirollus with Salmuth on him. Part. 2. Tit. 12.
of

of the Scriptures into Chapters, which *Hugo* had made in them, it had the like effect as to the *Hebrew* Bibles, that *Hugo's* had as to the *Latin*, that is, it caused the same division to be made in all the *Hebrew* Bibles, which were afterwards either written out or printed for common use. For this Concordance being found of excellent use among those for whom it was made, they were forced to comply with this Division for the sake of having the benefit of it. For the references in *Nathan's* Concordance being every where by Chapters according to *Hugo's* division, they could no otherwise have the benefit of finding in their Bibles the places referred to, than by dividing them into the same Chapters also. And from hence the Division of the Scriptural Books into Chapters first came into the *Hebrew* Bibles. But *Nathan*, tho' he followed *Hugo* in the Division of the Scriptural Books into Chapters, yet did not so in the Division of the Chapters by the Letters A. B. C. &c. in the Margin, but refined upon him in this matter by introducing a better usage, that is by using the Division which was made by Verses. This Division I have shewn was very ancient, but it was 'till now without any numbers put to the verses. This was first done by *Rabbi Nathan* for the sake of his Concordance. For therein all his references being by the Chapters and verses, as there was a necessity, that those who used this Concordance, should have their Bibles thus divided into Chapters and verses also, so was it, that both should be numbered in them. For it was by the numbers of the Chapters and verses, that they were to find the places sought for, in the same manner as is now practised in our *English* Concordances, as in *Newman's*, which is by much the best and perfectest of all that are extant. The numbering therefore of the verses in the Chapters, and the quoting of the passages in every Chapter by the verses, instead of doing it by Letters at an equal distance in the Margin, was *Nathan's* Invention; in all things else he followed the pattern which *Hugo* had
set

set him. But it is to be observed, that he did not number the verses any otherwise than by affixing the numerical letters in the Margin at every fifth verse. And this hath been the usage of the *Jews* in all their *Hebrew* Bibles ever since, 'till of late *Atbias* a *Jew* of *Amsterdam*, in his two fair and correct Editions of the *Hebrew* Bible printed by him in that City, the first in the year 1661, and the other in the year 1667, hath varied herefrom in two particulars. For 1st, he hath introduced into these editions the use of the *Indian* figures; and 2^{dly}, hath placed them at every verse, where the Numerical *Hebrew* letters are not; so that continuing the Numerical *Hebrew* letters as formerly at every fifth verse he hath put the *Indian* figures at all the rest. Before this we were to number from every fifth verse to find any intermediate verse between that and the next fifth. Whether the *Jews* will follow this new way in their future editions I know not, but this I know, that this second Edition of *Atbias's Hebrew* Bible is the most correct, as well as the most convenient and best fitted for use, of any that have been as yet set forth. After *Rabbi Nathan* had brought in this use of numbering the verses, and quoting by them what was in every Chapter, this soon appeared to be a much better way, than the quoting of what is in them by the letters A. B. C. &c. set in the Margin. And therefore (d) *Vatablus* having from this pattern published a *Latin* Bible with the Chapters so divided into verses, and the verses so numbered, this Example hath been followed in all other Editions, that have been since set forth. And all that have published Concordances, as well as all other writers, have ever since that time

(d) So saith *Morinus* in *Exercit. Bibl.* Part. 2. *Exercit.* 17. cap. 4. § 2. But *Chavalier* in his Book *L'Origine de L'Imprimerie*, p. 145, saith that the *Latin Bible* which was published at *Paris* by *Robert Stephanus* in three Folio's, Anno Domini 1557, was the first in which the Verses were distinguished by the Numerical Figures, which Example hath been ever since followed.

quoted the Scriptures by the number of Chapters and verses according to this Division. So that as the *Jews* borrowed the division of the Books of the Holy Scriptures into Chapters from the Christians, in like manner the Christians borrowed that of the Chapters into verses from the *Jews*. And thus they have helped each other to make the present Editions of the Bible, much more convenient for common use, than otherwise they would have been. And *Robert Stephanus* taking an hint from hence, made a like Division of the Chapters of the New Testament into verses also, and for the same reason as *Rabbi Nathan* had done so before him as to the Old Testament, that is for the sake of a Concordance, which he was then composing for the *Greek Testament*, and which was afterwards printed by *Henry Stephanus* his Son, who gives this account hereof in his Preface to that Concordance. Since that, this Division of the Holy Scriptures by chapters and verses, and the quoting of all the passages in them by the numbers of both, hath grown into use every where among us in these Western Parts; so that not only all *Latin Bibles*, but all *Greek Bibles* also, and all others, that have been printed in any of the Modern Languages, have followed this Division. And the usefulness of it from the first time it was introduced, reconciled all men thereto. And thus that Division of the Holy Scriptures into Chapters and verses, which is now every where in use, had its original.

III. The third thing which *Ezra* did about the Holy Scriptures, in his Edition of them, was, He added in several places throughout the Books of this Edition, what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting or compleating of them; wherein he was assisted by the same Spirit, by which they were at first wrote; of this sort we may reckon the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, which giving an account of the death and burial of *Moses*, and of the Succession of *Joshua* after him, it could not be written by *Moses* himself, who undoubtedly was the Penman of all the rest

rest of that Book. It seems most probable, that it was added by *Ezra* at this time. And such also may we reckon the several Interpolations, which occur in many places of the Holy Scriptures. For that there are such Interpolations is undeniable, there being many passages through the whole sacred writ, which create difficulties, that can never be solved without the allowing of them. As for instance *Gen. xii. 6.* It's remarked on *Abraham's* coming into the Land of *Canaan*, that the *Canaanites were then in the Land*, which is not likely to have been said, till after the time of *Moses*, when the *Canaanites* being extirpated by *Joshua* were then no more in the Land. And *Gen. xxii. 14.* we read, *As it is said, to this day, In the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen.* But Mount *Moriab* (which is the Mount there spoken of) was not called the Mount of the Lord till the Temple was built on it, many hundred years after. And this being here spoken of it as a Proverbial saying, that obtained among the *Israelites* in after-ages, the whole stile of the Text doth manifestly point at a time after *Moses*, when they were in possession of the Land in which this mountain stood. And therefore both these particulars prove the words cited to have been an Interpolation. *Gen. xxxvi. 3.* it is written; *And these are the Kings that reigned in the Land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the Land of Israel.* Which could not have been said, till after there had been a King in *Israel*, and therefore they cannot be *Moses's* words, but must have been interpolated afterwards. *Exod. xvi. 35.* the words of the Text are: *And the Children of Israel did eat Manna forty years, till they came to a Land inhabited. They did eat Manna, till they came unto the Borders of the Land of Canaan.* But *Moses* was dead before the Manna ceased, and therefore these cannot be his words, but must have been inserted afterwards, *Deuteron. ii. 12.* it is said, *The Horims also dwelt in Seir before time, but the Children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them before them, and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the*

the Land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them. Which could not have been written by *Moses*, *Israel* having not till after his death entered into the Land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them. *Deuteron. iii. 11.* it is said, *Only Og King of Bashan remained of the remnant of Giants; behold his bedstead was a bedstead of Iron. Is it not in Rabbah of the Children of Ammon?* The whole stile and strain of which Text, especially that of the last Clause of it, plainly speaks it to have been written a long while after that King was slain. And therefore it could not be written by *Moses*, who died within five Months after. In the same Chapter, *ver. 14.* it is said, *Jair the son of Manasseh took all the Country of Argob under the Coasts of Geshuri and Maacathi, and called them after his own name Bashan-Havoth-Jair unto this day.* Where the phrase, *unto this day*, speaks a much greater distance of time after the Fact related, than those few months, in which *Moses* survived after that Conquest; and therefore what is there written must have been inserted by some other hand than that of *Moses*, long after his death. And in the Book of *Proverbs* (which was certainly King *Solomon's*) in the beginning of the xxvth Chapter it is written, *These are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the Men of Hezekiah King of Judah copied out.* Which must certainly have been added many ages after *Solomon*. For *Hezekiah* was of the twelfth Generation in descent from him. Many more Instances of such interpolated passages might be given. For throughout the whole Scriptures they have been frequently cast in by way of Parenthesis, where they have appeared necessary for the explaining, connecting, or illustrating the Text, or the supplying what was wanting in it. But those already mentioned are sufficient to prove the thing. Of which Interpolations undoubtedly *Ezra* was the Author, in all the Books which passed his Examination, and *Simon the Just* in all the rest, which were added afterwards. For they all seem to refer to those later times. But these additions do not detract

any thing from the Divine Authority of the whole, because they were all inserted by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest. This as to *Ezra* is without dispute, he being himself one of the divine Penmen of the holy Scriptures. For he was most certainly the writer of that Book in the *Old Testament* which bears his name, and is upon good Grounds supposed to be the Author of two more, that is of the two Books of *Chronicles*, as perchance also he was of the Book of *Esther*. And if the Books written by him be of Divine Authority, why may not every thing else be so, which he hath added to any of the rest, since there is all reason for us to suppose, that he was as much directed by the Holy Spirit of God in the one as he was in the other? The great importance of the work proves the thing. For as it was necessary for the Church of God, that this work should be done; so also was it necessary for the work, that the person called thereto should be thus assisted in the completing of it.

IV. He changed the old names of several places, that were grown obsolete, putting instead of them the new names by which they were at that time called, that the people might the better understand what was written. Thus *Gen. xiv. 14.* *Abraham* is said to have pursued the Kings who carried *Lot* away Captive, as far as *Dan*, whereas the name of that place was *Laiſh*, till the *Danites* long after the death of *Moses* possessed themselves of it, and (e) called it *Dan* after the name of *Dan* their father. And therefore it could not be called *Dan* in the Original Copy of *Moses*, but that name must have been put in afterwards instead of that of *Laiſh* on this review. And so in several places in *Genesis*, and also in *Numbers*, we find mention made of *Hebron*, whereas the name of that City was *Kiriath Arba*, till *Caleb* having obtained the possession of it after the Division of the Land, called it *Hebron* after the name of

(e) *Joshua xix. 47.* *Judges xviii. 29.*

Hebron one of his Sons; and therefore that name could not be in the Text, till placed there long after the time of *Moses*, by way of exchange for that of *Kiriath Arba*; which it is not to be doubted was done at the time of this review. And many other like Examples of this may be given, whereby it appears, that the Study of those, who governed the Church of God in those times, was to render the Scripture as plain and intelligible to the people, as they could, and not to hide and conceal any of it from them.

V. He wrote out the whole in the *Chaldee* Character. For that having now grown wholly into use among the people after the *Babylonish* Captivity, he changed the old *Hebrew* Character for it, which hath since that time been retained only by the *Samaritans*, among whom it is preserved even to this day. This was the old *Phœnician* Character, from which the *Greeks* borrowed theirs, And the old *Ionian* Alphabet bears some Similitude to it, as (f) *Scaliger* shews in his notes upon *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*. In this *Moses* and the Prophets recorded the Sacred Oracles of God, and in this the finger of God himself wrote the ten Commandments in the two Tables of Stone. There are some, I acknowledge, who strenuously contend for the Antiquity of the present *Hebrew* Letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the Sacred Character, in which the Holy Scriptures were written, and that the *Samaritan* was never in use for this purpose, but only among the *Samaritans*, who in opposition (say they) to the *Jews*, on the rise of that enmity which was between them, wrote out the Law of *Moses* (which is the only Scripture they receive) in this Character different from them. Were we to judge of Sacred things by their external beauty, we should concur with this opinion. For the *Chaldee* Character is one of the beautifullest, and the *Samaritan* the uncouthest, and the most unca-

(f) In animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon. p. 110, 111, &c.

pable of Calligraphy, of all that have been used among the different nations of the world. But the opinion of most learned men, and upon good grounds, is on the other side; for (g) there are many old *Jewish* Shekels still in being, and others of the same sort are frequently dug up in *Judea*, with this Inscription on them in *Samaritan* letters, *Jerusalem Kadoshab*, i. e. *Jerusalem the Holy*, which Inscription shews, that they could not be the Coin either of the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes, or of the *Samaritans* who after succeeded them in their Land. For neither of them would have put the name of *Jerusalem* upon their coin, or ever have called it the Holy City. These pieces therefore must have been the coin of those of the two Tribes before the Captivity, and this proves the *Samaritan* Character to be that which was then in use among them. And it cannot be said, that these Shekels are counterfeited by modern hands. For *Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman* tells us of several, which he met with in his time, that had this Inscription upon them in *Samaritan* Letters, who lived above five hundred years since. And therefore it must follow, that the present *Hebrew* Character was introduced among the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the General Testimony of the Ancients is, that it was *Ezra* that did first put the Holy Scriptures into it, on the review which he made of them on his coming to *Jerusalem*. (b) *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon* tells us so, and (i) *St. Jerom* doth the same, and so do also both the *Talmuds*; And the generality of learned men, as well among the *Jews* as Christians, hold to this opinion. *Capellus* hath written a Tract for it, and *Buxtorf* the son another against it. They who shall think fit to read them, will see all that can be

(g) Scaliger in *Animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon*. p. 117. col. 2. Vossius de *Arte Grammatica* lib. 1. c. 9. Waserus de *nummis Hebræorum*. Waltonus de *Siclorum formis & in Prolegom.* 3. § 29, 30, &c. (b) *Ad Annum* 4740. (i) In *præfatione ad 1 Regum*, & in *Comment. in Ezekielem* cap. 9.

said on either side. But I think the Argument, which is brought from the Shekels, cannot be answered. But

VI. Whether *Ezra* on this review did add the vowel points, which are now in the *Hebrew* Bibles, is an harder Question to be decided. It went without Contradiction in the affirmative, till *Elias Levita* a *German Jew* wrote against it, about the beginning of the Reformation. *Buxtorf* the Father endeavoured to refute his Arguments. But *Capellus* a Protestant Divine of the *French* Church, and Professor of *Hebrew* in their University at *Saumur*, hath in a very elaborate Discourse made a thorough reply to all that can be said on this head, and very strenuously asserted the contrary. *Buxtorf* the Son, in vindication of his Father's Opinion, hath written an Answer to it; but not with that Satisfaction to the Learned World, as to hinder the generality of them from going into the other opinion. I shall here first state the Question, and then inquire on which side of it the truth lieth.

And first, as to the State of the Question, it is to be observed, that it is upon another foot among us Christians, than it is among the *Jews*. For among them it is a principle agreed on of both sides, and which *Elias Levita* comes in unto, as much as any of the rest, that the reading, as now fixed and settled by the vowel points in all the Books of Holy Scripture, is the true, genuine and authentick reading, as it came from the sacred Penmen themselves of the said Books, and consequently is as much of divine authority as the letters, only the latter were written, and the other delivered down only by Oral Tradition. The Question therefore between them is only about the time, when this reading was first marked and expressed in their Bibles by the present vowel points. This *Elias* and his followers say was not done till after the finishing of the *Talmud*, about five hundred Years after Christ; But that till then the true reading, as to the vowels, was preserved only by

Oral Tradition. But others of them hold (and this is the prevailing opinion among them) that the reading by Oral Tradition was only till the time of *Ezra*, and that ever since it hath been written down and expressed by the vowel points affixed to the letters in the same manner as we now have them. So that the controversy among them is not about the truth and authority of the reading according to the present punctuation, (for they all hold this to be the very same which was dictated with the word itself by the Holy Spirit of God from the beginning) but about the antiquity of the Figures and Points, whereby it is marked and fixed in their present Bibles. But among us Christians, who have no regard to what the *Jews* tell us of their Oral Tradition, and their preserving of the true reading of the Scriptures by it, the Question is about the authority of the reading itself; that is, whether the vowel points were affixed by *Ezra*, and therefore of the same divine authority with the rest of the Text, or else invented since by the Jewish Criticks called the *Massorites*; and whether therefore they may not, as being of human authority only, be altered and changed, where the Analogy of Grammar, the Stile of the Language, or the Nature of the Context, or any thing else shall give reason for a better reading. And this being the state of the Question, as it is now in debate among Christians, that side of it which I have here last mentioned is that, which is now generally held for the truth, and these following Arguments make strongly for it.

1. The sacred Books made use of among the *Jews* in their Synagogues (*k*) have ever been and still are without the vowel points, which could not have happened, had they been placed there by *Ezra*, and consequently been of the same authority with the letters. For had they been so, they would certainly have been preserved in the Synagogues with the same care

(A) Arcanum punctuationis lib. 1. c. 4.

as the rest of the Text. There can scarce any other reason be given why they were not admitted thither, but that when the Holy Scriptures began first to be publicly read to the people in their Synagogues, there were no such vowel points then in being; and that when they afterwards came in use, being known to be of an human invention, they were for that reason never thought fit to be added to those sacred Copies, which were looked on as the true representatives of the Original; and (1) therefore they have been ever kept with the same care in the Ark or sacred Chest of the Synagogue, as the original draught of the Law of *Moses* anciently was in the Ark or sacred Chest of the Tabernacle, which was prepared for it; and they are still so kept in the same manner among them even to this day.

2. The ancient (m) various readings of the Sacred Text called *Keri Cetib*, are all about the letters, and none about the vowel points, which seems manifestly to prove, that the vowel points were not anciently in being, or else were not then looked on as an authentick part of the Text. For if they had, the variations of these would certainly have been taken notice of, as well as those of the letters.

3. The (n) ancient *Cabbalists* draw none of their mysteries from the vowel points, but all from the letters, which is an Argument either that these vowel points were not in use in their time, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the Sacred Text. For had they then been so, these Triflers would certainly have drawn mysteries from the one, as well as from the other, as the latter *Cabbalists* have done.

4. If (o) we compare with the present pointed *Hebrew* Bibles, the Version of the *Septuagint*, the *Chaldee* Paraphrases, the Fragments of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*,

(1) Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica cap. 14. (m) Arcanum punctationis lib. 1. cap. 7.

(n) Arcanum punctationis lib. 1. c. 5.

(o) Arcanum punctationis lib. 1. cap. 8, 9, 10.

and *Theodotion*, or the *Latin* version of *Jerom*, we shall in several places find that they did read the Text otherwise, than according to the present punctuation; which is a certain Argument that the pointed Copies, if there were any such in their times, were not then held to be of any authority, for otherwise they would certainly have followed them.

5. Neither (p) the *Mishnah*, nor the *Gemara*, either that of *Jerusalem*, or that of *Babylon*, do make any mention of these vowel points, altho' in several places there are such special occasions and reasons for them so to have done, that it can scarce be thought possible they could have omitted it, if they had been in being when those Books were written, or if in being, had been looked on by the *Jews* of those times to be of any authority among them. Neither do we find (q) the least hint of them in *Philo Judæus* or *Josephus*, who are the oldest writers of the *Jews*, or in any of the ancient Christian writers for several hundred Years after Christ. And although among them *Origen* and *Jerom* were well skill'd in the *Hebrew* Language, yet in none of their writings do they speak the least of them. *Origen* flourished in the third and *Jerom* in the fifth Century; and the latter having lived a long while in *Judæa*, and there more especially applied himself to the study of the *Hebrew* learning, and much conversed with the *Jewish* Rabbies for his improvement herein, it is not likely that he could have missed making some mention of them through all his voluminous works, if they had been either in being among the *Jews* in his time, or in any credit or authority with them, and that especially since in his Commentaries there were so many necessary occasions for his taking notice of them. And it cannot be deny'd but that this is a very strong Argument against them.

Many more arguments are urged on this side of the

(p) Arcanum punctuationis cap. 5.
lib. i. c. 10.

(q) Arcanum punctuationis

Question. But the chief strength of what is said for it lying in these I have mentioned, I shall not trouble the Reader with the rest, and that especially since some of them will not hold water. For to instance in one of them, Great stress is laid on this to prove the vowel points to be of late date, that their names are thought to be of late date, they being of the *Chaldee* and not of the *Hebrew* Dialect. But it is certain the *Jews* had the present names of their Months from the *Chaldeans*, as well as the names of their vowels, and yet it is as certain, that notwithstanding this the names of these Months were in use in the time of *Ezra*, for they are named in Scripture, both in the Book of *Ezra*, and also in that of *Nehemiah*, the former of which was written by him; and why then might not the names of these vowels have been in *Ezra's* time too, notwithstanding this Objection? And this is all, which those on the other side contend for. But the other Arguments which I have above recited, are of much greater weight: If any one would see all at large, that hath been said on this head, *Capellus's* Book, which I have already mentioned, will fully furnish him herewith.

But there have not been wanting learned Men of the contrary Opinion, and much hath been written for it, especially by the two *Buxtorfs*, the Father and the Son; their Arguments, which carry the greatest weight with them, are these which follow.

1. The (r) Ancient Books of *Babir* and *Zobar*, which are said to have been written, the one a little before, and the other a little after the time of our Saviour, make express and frequent mention of the vowel points; which Argument would be unanswerable against the latter invention of them, could we be sure, that these Books are as ancient, as the *Jews* say they are. But there are reasons sufficient to convince us, (s)

(r) Buxtorfius pater in *Tiberiade* c. 9. § 3. Buxtorfius filius de punctorum antiquitate Part. 1. cap. 5. (s) Vide Arganum punctuationis lib. 2. cap. 3. & Buxtorfii Bibliothecam Rabbinicam in *Babir* and *Zobar*.

that both of them are of a much later date. There are many particulars in the Books themselves, which manifestly prove them to be so : And for above a thousand Years after the pretended times of their Composition, they were never heard of among the *Jews* themselves, nor were they ever quoted, nor made mention of by any other writer during all that interval ; which gives abundant reason to conclude, that 'till after these thousand Years, they never had any being ; but that a false date of Antiquity hath been fraudulently put to them to recommend them to the World with the greater credit. The latter of them hath been printed several times, but the other is still a Manuscript. They are both Cabbalistical Books, and the most they are remarkable for, is the obscurity of their Stile, and the strange, mysterious, and unintelligible stuff contained in them.

2. That whereas it is said on the other side, that the *Masorites* of *Tiberias* invented the vowel points about five hundred Years after *Christ*, this (*t*) appears very unlikely. For the Schools which the *Jews* had in *Judaea*, were then wholly dissipated and suppressed, and no learned Men there left of sufficient ability for such a Performance. For at that time all their learned Men were removed into the Province of *Babylon*, where they had their Universities of *Sora*, *Naberdas*, and *Pumbeditha*, and nothing of their learning was then left in *Judaea*, that can make it probable that such a work could be done, either at *Tiberias* or any where else in that Land, in those times. And besides, were the thing ever so likely, there is no authority for it sufficient to support the Assertion. *Elias Levita* indeed saith it, and *Aben Ezra* who wrote about the middle of the twelfth Century, is quoted for it ; but higher up it cannot be traced. For there is nothing said in any ancients writer either of their being invented by the *Masorites* at *Tiberias*, or any where else

(*t*) Buxtorfius pater in *Tiberiade* cap. 5, 6, 7. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum Part. 2. cap. 11.

after the *Talmud*, and it is not likely that, if this had been so late an invention, a matter so remarkable, and of such great moment, could have been wholly passed over in silence without the least mention made of it by any of the *Jewish* writers. But (u) to all this it is replied, that in Historical matters it is not to be regarded what the *Jews* write, or what they omit concerning them. That of all Nations in the World, that have pretended to any sort of learning, they have taken the least care to record past Transactions, and have done it very bunglingly, and in a manner that looks more like fable than truth, wherever they have pretended to it. And it is certain there were *Jews* eminent in their way of Learning at *Tiberias* in St. *Jerom's* time. For he tells us he made use of them, and he died not till the year of our Lord 420, which was but eighty Years before the time assigned; and it must be acknowledged that nothing of this can be gainsaid. And it is farther added by those, who thus reply, that they do not positively pin down the Invention of these vowel points either to the time or place, which *Elias Levita* assigneth for it, but only say, but it must be after the time of the writings of *Jerom*, and after the time of the Composure of the *Talmud*, because in neither of these any mention is made of them, and this will necessarily carry it down below the five hundredth year of our Lord; but whether it were then immediately done, or two or three hundred years afterward, or at *Tiberias*, or elsewhere, they will not take upon them certainly to affirm. That the vowel points were not affixed to the Text by *Ezra*, that they are not of a divine, but only of an human Original, and first introduced into use after the writing of the *Talmud*, is all that they positively assert concerning this matter; and that whatsoever is said beyond this is only guess and conjecture, which doth not at all affect

(u) Capellus in *Arcano punctationis lib. 2. cap. 15.*

the Question, and therefore they will not contend about it.

3. If by the *Masorites*, who are said to have invented these vowel points, are meant the Authors of the present *Masorah*, which is printed with the great Bibles of *Venice* and *Basil*, it is (*w*) certain they cannot be the Inventors of these points. For a great part of their Criticisms is upon the vowel points, which must necessarily prove them to have been long before fix'd and settled. For none use to criticise upon their own works. To (*x*) which it is replied, that there were *Masorites* from the time of *Ezra* and the men of the great Synagogue, down to the time of *Ben Asber* and *Ben Naphthali*, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1030, that some of these invented the points sometime after the making of the *Talmud*, and that after that some of those who succeeded them, perchance two or three hundred years after, made these Criticisms and remarks upon them. For the *Masorah* that is now printed in the Bibles above mentioned, is a collection and abridgement of all the chief Remarks and Criticisms, which those men did make upon the Hebrew Text, from their first beginning to the time I have mentioned. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more at large by and by.

4. That when the Hebrew Language ceased to be the mother tongue of the *Jews* (as it is agreed on all hands that it did after the Babylonish Captivity) it (*y*) was scarce possible to teach that language without these vowel points; and this is the best and strongest argument, that is urged on this side for their having been always in use from that time.

5. That if it be allowed that the present vowel

(*w*) Buxtorfius pater in *Tiberiade* cap. 9. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate Punctorum Part. 2. cap. 6. (*x*) Arcanum punctationis lib. 2. cap. 10. (*y*) Buxtorfius de antiquitate punctorum Part. 2. cap. 10.

points are not of the same authority with the letters, but are only of a late and human invention, it will weaken the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and leave the sacred Text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation; which will give too much to the Papists, whose main design is to destroy the authority and certainty of the Holy Scriptures, that thereby they may make room for the Traditions of their Church, and the Decisions of the infallible Guide, which they pretend to have therein. And to avoid this ill consequence is indeed the most prevailing cause, that hath drawn into this Opinion most of those learned Protestants, that contend for it; but to answer both these last Arguments, and settle the whole of this Controversy, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the matter, in these following positions.

I. That the vowel points having never been received by the *Jews* into their Synagogues, this seems to be a certain evidence, that they were never anciently looked on by them as an authentick part of the Holy Scripture of the old Testament, but reckoned only as an human invention added for the easier reading of the Text, after the Hebrew ceased from being a vulgar Language among them. And the *Jews* having been till the time of *Christ* the true Church of God, and his chosen people, (z) to whom those Scriptures and Sacred Oracles of God were given and committed, through their hands the Church of *Christ* hath received them, and their evidence is that, which is to witness and determine unto us, what part of them is authentick Scripture, and what is not.

II. It is most likely, that these vowel points were the Invention of the *Masorites* a little after the time of *Ezra*. That they came into use a little after the time of *Ezra*, seems to be proved by the need that was then of them for the reading and teaching of the *Hebrew* Text. And that they were invented by

(z) Romans iii. 2.

the *Masorites* seems most likely, because of the Business and Profession, which these men employed themselves in. For

1st, These *Masorites* (a) were a set of men, whose Profession it was to write out Copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to criticize upon them, and also to preserve and teach the true Readings of them; And what they observed and taught in order hereto, is by the *Jews* called the *Masorab*. But this Tradition reached no farther than the Readings of the Hebrew Scriptures. For as the *Jews* held a Tradition of the true Interpretations of the Holy Scriptures (which I have already spoken of) so also did they hold another of the true Readings of them, as in the Original Hebrew Language. And this last they will have, as to the Law, to be a Constitution of *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, as well as the former. For their Doctrine is, that when God gave unto *Moses* the Law in Mount *Sinai*, he taught him first the true Readings of it, and secondly the true Interpretations of it; and that both these were handed down from Generation to Generation by Oral Tradition only, till at length the Readings were written by the accents and vowels, in like manner as the Interpretations were by the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*. The former they call *Masorab*, which signifieth *Tradition*, and the other they call *Cabbala*, which signifieth *Reception*; but both of them denote the same thing, that is, a knowledge delivered down from Generation to Generation; in the doing of which there being Tradition on the one hand, and Reception on the other, that, which relates to the Readings of the Hebrew Scriptures, hath its name from the former, and that which relates to the Interpretations of them, from the latter. And what they say of this, as to the Law, they say also of it, as to the Prophets and the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures; that is, that the true

(a) *Eliæ Levitæ Masoreth Hammasoreth*. Buxtorfius in *Tiberiade*: Waltoni *Prolegom.* 8.

Readings of them, as well as the true Interpretations of them, were delivered down by Oral Tradition from those who were the first Penmen of them; to whom they say God revealed both at the same time, when he revealed to them the word itself. As those, who studied and taught the *Cabbala*, were called the *Cabbalists*; so those, who studied and taught the *Masorah*, were called the *Masorites*. For altho' the word *Cabbala* be now restrained to signify the mystical Interpretations of the Scriptures only, and in the common usage of Speech now among the *Jews* they alone are called *Cabbalists*, who give themselves up to these dotages; yet in the true and genuine meaning of the word *the Cabbala* extends to all manner of Traditions, which are of the Interpretative part of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the *Cabbalist* is the general name of all those, who professed the study and knowledge of them. And they were all those, whom under the names of *Tannaim*, *Amoraim*, *Seburaim*, &c. I have already made mention of. And as these *Cabbalists* first began a little after the time of *Ezra*, so also did the *Masorites*; and their whole Business, and Profession being to study the true Readings of the Hebrew Text, and to preserve and teach the same, they are justly held the most likely to have invented the vowel points, because the whole use of those points is to serve to this purpose.

And 2^{dly}, this use of them being absolutely necessary from the time that the *Hebrew* Language ceased to be vulgarly spoken (as it certainly did in the time of *Ezra*) we have sufficient reason from hence to conclude, that soon after that time the use of them must have been introduced. For from this time the *Hebrew* Language being only to be acquired by study and instruction, and that being necessary to be first acquired, before the sacred Text could be read, which was written therein; as there was need of such a Profession of men to take care hereof, that is, to teach and bring up others to know the language, and also to read the Scriptures, as written in it; so was there

there as much need of these vowel points to help them herein, it being hard to conceive, how they could do either without them, or some other such marks, that might serve them for the same purpose. What the *Jews* tell us of preserving the true readings only by Tradition and Memory, is too absurd to be swallowed by any one. For had there been nothing else but Tradition and Memory in this case to help them, the load would have been too great to have been carried by any ones memory, but all must necessarily have drop'd in the way, and been lost. But the truth is, there is no need of depending only on memory, in this case. For to those, who thoroughly know the language, the letters alone with the context are sufficient to determine the reading, as now they are in all other *Hebrew* Books. For, excepting the Bible, few other Books in that language are pointed. All their (b) *Rabbinical* Authors, of which there are a great number, are all unpointed, and yet all that understand the language, can read them without points, as well as if they had them, yea and much better too, and not miss the true reading. But the difficulty is as to those, who do not understand the language. For how they could be ever taught to read it without vowels, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, is scarce possible to conceive. When all learnt it from their Cradles, it was no hard matter for those, who thus understood the Language, to learn to read it by the letters only without the vowels. But when the *Hebrew* became a dead language, the case was altered. For then, instead of understanding it first in order to read it, they were first to read it in order to understand it; and therefore having not the previous knowledge of the Language to direct them herein, they must necessarily have had some other helps, whereby to know with

(b) *All those Authors as originally written are without points. But the Mishnah and their Machzor have lately had points put to them, but still they are reckoned the best Editions that are without them.*

what vowel every Syllable was to be pronounced, and to give them this help, the vowel points seem certainly to have been invented; and therefore the time of this invention cannot be placed later than the time when they became necessary, that is when the *Hebrew* became a dead language, though perchance it was not perfected and brought to that order, in which now it is, till some ages after. It is acknowledged on all hands, that the reading of the *Hebrew* Language could never have been learned after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, without the help of vowels; but they who will not allow the points to have been so ancient, (c) tell us, that the letters *Aleph*, *He*, *Vau*, *Yod*, which they call *matres Lætionis*, then served for vowels. But there are a great number of words in the *Hebrew* way of writing, both in the Bible, and in all other Books of that Language, in which none of these letters are to be found, and scarce any in which some of the Syllables are not without them, and how then can these supply the place of vowels, and every where help the reading instead of them, since every where they are not to be found? Besides, there are none of these letters which have not (according as they are placed in different words) the different sounds of every one of the vowels some time or other annexed to them; and how then can they determine the pronunciation of any one of them? As for example, the letter *Aleph* hath not always the pronunciation of the vowel [a,] but sometimes of [e,] sometimes of [i,] sometimes of [o,] and sometimes of [u,] according as it is found in different words; and the same is to be said of all the rest. And farther, all the other Oriental Languages have in their Alphabets these same letters, which they call *Matres Lætionis*, as well as the *Hebrew*, as for example, the *Syriac*, the *Arabic*, the *Turkish*, the *Persian*, the *Malayan*, &c. and yet they have their vowels too to help the reading; neither can we find that

(c) Arcanum Punctuationis lib. 1. cap. 18.

they were ever without them; though such as are well versed in any of these languages, read them readily without vowels, and all the Books, Epistles, Orders, and publick Instruments, that are in them, are generally so written. And why then should we think the *Hebrew* had not such vowels also, especially when after that language had ceased to be vulgarly spoken, there was such necessity for them? The unpointed words in *Hebrew* are the same with Abbreviations in *Latin*; And if it be impracticable for any novice to learn the *Latin* language by Books, wherein all the words are so abbreviated, that only two or three letters of them stand for the whole, we may justly infer, that it is as impracticable for any who is a stranger to the *Hebrew*, ever to learn it by Books, wherein all the words are unpointed; yea, and much more so. For the abbreviations in *Latin* are certain, such an abbreviation being always put for such a word, and for none other; but it is otherwise in the abbreviations of the unpointed *Hebrew*, for in them all the vowels being left out, the remaining letters, which are to stand for the whole, may as pronounced with different vowels be different words; as for example, there are two Conjugations in *Hebrew*, one called *Pihel*, and the other *Pubal*; the former is an active, and the other a passive, and both are written throughout all their Moods and Tenses (except the Infinitive) with the same letters, and they as differently pointed may be either the one or the other; and although in the reading, the context may determine the active from the passive, yet if we do not by pointed Books first learn, what vowels properly belong to the one, and what to the other, how can we know with which to read or pronounce either of them in the unpointed Books? and abundance of other such instances may be given in the *Hebrew* Language, wherein the same letters as differently pointed, make different words, and of different significations, and how then can a learner know, what different vowels, and what different

ferent pronunciations belong to these different words, if he be not first taught it by the points, or some other such marks of the same signification? All that can be said against this is, That the *Samaritan* hath no such vowels; but although it be now grown to be a dead language, as well as the *Hebrew*, it is taught and learnt without them. To this I answer, that it is true, that all the Books, which we have as yet brought us into these Western Parts in the *Samaritan* Character, are written only with the letters, and without any such marks as the *Hebrew* Bibles now have to denote the vowels, or any other instead of them. But this doth not prove, that they have no such vowels in use among them; Multitude of Books are brought us out of the East in *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Turkish*, and *Persian*, all written with the letters only without any vowel marks; but this doth not prove that they have none, for it's certain that they all have them, and use them, where there is need of them: And therefore it is no evidence but that the *Samaritan* may have them also, though all the Books which we have hitherto seen in it, are without them. The Sect of the *Samaritans* are those only who use this Character and Language (if we may call it a Language, for it is no more than the *Hebrew* in another Character) and they are now dwindled into a very small number, and those dispersed abroad into several parts of the East. And what their practice may be as to the use of vowel figures in their other writings (though none that have as yet come to our hands have any such) we have no account of, either pro or con, and therefore we can argue nothing from it. Only we say, that as to this, as well as the *Hebrew*, and all other such languages, in which Books are ordinarily written with the letters only, it seems almost impracticable for any one to learn to read those Books, after the Languages are become dead Languages, without some marks put to the letters to denote the vowels, with which they are to be pronounced. Without a previous Knowledge of

the Language it is impossible to be done, and therefore the only way to make it possible, is to learn the Language first by rote, and when a perfect knowledge hath been gotten of it this way, then only can it be practicable to learn to read that language by the letters only without any vowel marks. But this is such a great way about, such a tedious and operose method of learning it, that we must look on those to be a very dull and stupid sort of People, who being in this case, could find out no other way to help themselves in it, and that especially in the *Jews* case, since their Neighbours on each side of them (I mean the *Syrians* and *Arabians*) had vowel figures, and they might easily from them have either taken the same, or learnt to have framed others like them. Though the *Greeks* in their Language have the vowels intermixed with the letters, yet it no sooner became a dead language (I mean the learned *Greek*, from which the Modern doth as much differ, as the *Chaldee* from the *Hebrew*) but they found out accents, spirits, and several other marks to help those who were to learn it, which were never in use among them before. And so also there are in the *Latin* several such marks; as for example, a mark over the [ò] and [è] at the end of *Adverbs*, to distinguish them from Nouns ending in those vowels, and the mark over the [â] ablative to distinguish it from the [a] nominative, &c. None of which marks were ever used while the *Latin* Language was vulgarly spoken, but were invented for the help of those who were to learn it afterwards. And is it possible that the *Jews* only were so stupid and dull, that they alone should find out no such helps, after their Language became a dead Language, for the easier learning and reading of it; but on the contrary should have continued so many hundred years after not only without any marks for accents, pauses or stops, but also without any figures so much as to denote the vowels, with which their letters were to be pronounced? The necessity which was in this case for such vowel figures, evidently
proves

proves that they must have had them, and that as soon as they needed them, which was as soon as their Language became a dead Language, and was thenceforth to be learnt by Books (and not by common converse) as all other dead Languages are. And therefore this happening about the time of *Ezra* (as hath been already shewn) it must follow, that about that time, or a little after, the use of such vowel figures must have been introduced into the *Hebrew* Language. Whether they were the same vowel points that are now used, or other such like signs to serve for the same purpose, is not material, and therefore I shall raise no inquiry about it. Only I cannot but say, that since necessity first introduced the use of them, it is most likely, that no more were at first used, than there was a necessity for, but that the augmenting of them beyond this to the number of fifteen, proceeded only from the over-nicety of the *After-Masorites*. Three served the *Arabs*, and five most other nations, and no doubt at first they exceeded not this number among the *Jews*. And it is most likely that the same profession of men who thus invented the vowel points, were also the Authors of all those other inventions, which have been added to the *Hebrew* Text for the easier reading and better understanding of it. The dividing of the Law into Sections, and the Sections into verses, seems to have been one of the first of their works. (d) Originally every Book of the *Hebrew* Bible was written as in one verse, without any distinction of Sections, Chapters, Verses, or Words. But when the publick reading of the Law was brought into use among the *Jews*, and some part of it read every Sabbath in their Synagogues, it became necessary to divide the whole into 54 Sections, that it might thereby be known what part was to be read on each Sabbath, and the whole gone over every year, as hath been afore observed. And when the disuse of the *Hebrew* Lan-

(d) Elias Levita in *Masoreth Hammasoreth*.

guage among them made it necessary, that it should not only be read to them in the Original *Hebrew*, but also interpreted in the *Chaldee*, which was then become their vulgar tongue, there was also a necessity of dividing the Sections into verses, that they might be a direction both to the Reader and the Interpreter where to make their stop at every alternative reading and interpreting, till they had verse by verse gone through the whole Section. And in imitation hereof, the like division was afterwards made in all the rest of the Holy Scriptures. And a like necessity about the same time introduced the use of the vowel points, after they were forc'd to teach the *Hebrew* Language by Book, on its ceasing to be any longer vulgarly spoken among the People. And some time after the Accents and Pauses were invented for the same purpose, that is for the easier and more distinct reading of the Text, for which they are necessary helps, as far as they supply the place of a Comma, a Colon, or a full stop; which *Athnak*, *Revia*, and *Silluk* do; but as for the musical use, for which only the others were added to the *Hebrew* Text, they are now wholly insignificant, it being long since absolutely forgot for what use they served.

III. These vowel points were for many ages only of private use among the *Masorites*, whereby they preserved to themselves the true Readings of the Holy Scriptures, and taught them to their Scholars; but they were not received into the Divinity Schools, 'till after the making of the *Talmud*. For there were two sorts of Schools anciently among the *Jews*, the Schools of the *Masorites*, and the Schools of the *Rabbies*. The former taught only the *Hebrew* Language, and to read the Scriptures in it; the others to understand the Scriptures, and all the Interpretations of them, and were the great Doctors of Divinity among them; to whom the *Masorites* were as much inferior, as the Teachers of Grammar-Schools among us are to the Professors of Divinity in our Universities. And therefore as long as these vowel points
went

went no higher, than the Schools of these *Masorites*, they were of no regard among their learned men, or taken any notice of by them. And this is the reason that we find no mention of them either in the *Talmud*, or in the writings of *Origen*, or *Jerom*. But some time after the making of the *Talmud*, in what year or age is uncertain, the Punctuation of the *Masorites* having been judged by the *Jewish* Doctors to be as useful and necessary a way for the preserving of the *Traditionary Readings* of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, as the *Mishnah* and *Gemara* had been then found to be for the preserving of the *Traditional Rites*, *Ceremonies*, and *Doctrines* of their Religion, it was taken into their *Divinity Schools*; and it having been there reviewed and corrected by the learnedest of their *Rabbies*, and so formed and settled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all those authentic Readings, which they held to have been delivered down unto them by Tradition from *Moses* and the *Prophets*, who were the first Penmen of them; ever since that time the Points in the *Hebrew* Scriptures have been by the *Jews* held of the same authority for the reading of them, as the *Mishnah* and the *Gemara* for the interpreting of them, and consequently as unalterable as the Letters themselves. For they reckon them both of divine Original, only with this difference, that the Letters they say were written by the Holy Penmen themselves, but the readings as now marked by the points, were delivered down from them by Tradition only. However they have never received them into their *Synagogues*, but have there still continued the use of the Holy Scriptures in unpointed Copies, and so do even to this day, because they so received them from the first holy Penmen of them.

IV. All those Criticisms in the *Masorah*, that are upon the Points, were made by such *Masorites* as lived after the Points were received into the *Divinity Schools* of the *Jews*. For this Profession of men continued from the time of *Ezra*, and the men of the great *Synagogue*, to that of *Ben Asher* and *Ben Nephthali*,

thali, (e) who were two famous *Masorites*, that lived about the year of our Lord 1030, and were the last of them. For they having, after many years labour spent herein, each of them published a Copy of the whole *Hebrew Text*, as correct as they could make it, the Eastern *Jews* have followed that of *Ben Nephthali*, and the Western *Jews* have followed that of *Ben Asher*, and all that hath been done ever since is exactly to copy after them, both as to the Points and Accents, as well as to the Letters, without making any more corrections or *Masoritical* Criticisms or Observations upon either. These *Masorites*, who were the Authors of the *Masorah* that is now extant, were a monstrous trifling sort of men, whose Criticisms and Observations went no higher than the numbring of the verses, words, and letters, of every Book in the *Hebrew Bible*, and the marking out which was the middle verse, word, and letter in each of them, and the making of other such poor and low observations concerning them, as are not worth any man's reading, or taking notice of, whatever *Richard Simon* the *Frenchman* may say to the contrary.

V. These vowel points having been added to the Text with the best care of those who best understood the language, and having undergone the review and corrections of many ages, it may be reckoned that this work hath been done in the perfectest manner that it can be done by man's Art, and that none who shall undertake a new punctuation of the whole, can do it better; however since it was done only by man's Art, it is no authentic part of the holy Scriptures, and therefore these Points are not so unalterably fixed to the Text, but that a change may be made in them, when the nature of the context, or the analogy of Grammar, or the stile of the Language, or any thing else shall give a sufficient reason for it. And

(e) Buxtorfius pater in præfatione ad Tiberiadem. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum Part 1. cap. 15. Zacutus in Juchasin. Shal-shleth Haçcabbala Zemach David Elias Levita, &c.

that especially since, how exactly soever they may have been at any time affixed to the Text, they are still liable to the mistakes of Transcribers and Printers, and by reason of their number, the smallness of their figures, and their position under the letters, are more likely to suffer by them, than any other sort of writing whatsoever.

VI. It doth not from hence follow, that the Sacred Text will therefore be left to an arbitrary and uncertain reading. For the genuine reading is as certain in the unpointed Hebrew Books, as the genuine sense is in the pointed; the former indeed may sometimes be mistaken or perverted, and so may the latter; and therefore whether the Books be pointed or unpointed, this doth not alter the case to one who thoroughly knows the Language, and will honestly read the same. Ignorant men may indeed mistake the reading, and ill men may pervert it; but those who are knowing and honest can do neither. For, except the Bible, no other Hebrew Book is pointed, unless some few of late by modern hands. All their Rabbinical Authors are unpointed, and all their other Books, to which the Moderns have in some editions added points, were originally published without them, and so they still are in the best Editions; and yet this doth not hinder, but that every one, who understands the Hebrew Language, can rightly read them and rightly understand them. Were I to make my choice, I would desire to have the Bible with points, and all other Hebrew Books without them. I would desire the Bible with points, because they tell us how the *Jews* did anciently read the Text. And I would have all other Hebrew Books without them, because in such they rather hinder and clog the reading than help it, to any one that thoroughly knows the Language. And all that undertake to point such Books, may not always do it according to the true and genuine reading, as we have an instance in the pointed Edition of the *Mishnah* published in Octavo by *Manasseh Ben Israel of Amsterdam*. And therefore it is much

much better to be left free to our own apprehensions for the genuine reading, than be confined by another man's to that which may not be the genuine reading. Indeed to read without vowels may look very strange to such, who are conversant only with the modern *European* Languages, in which often several Consonants come together without a Vowel, and several Vowels without a Consonant, and several of both often go to make up one Syllable ; and therefore if in them the Consonants were only written, it would be hard to find out what may be the word ; but it is quite otherwise in the Hebrew. For in that Language there is never more than one vowel in one Syllable, and in most Syllables only one consonant, and in none more than two, and therefore in most words the Consonants confine us to the vowels, and determine how the word is to be read, and if not, at least the context doth. It must be acknowledged, that there are several combinations of the same Consonants, which as placed in the same order, are susceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words and of different significations, and therefore when put alone are of an uncertain reading ; but it is quite otherwise when they are joined in context with other words. For where the Letters joined in the same word do not determine the reading, there the words joined in the same sentence always do ; and this is no more than what we find in all other Languages, and very often in our own. For we have many equivocal words, which being put alone are of an uncertain signification, but are always determin'd in the context. As for Example, the word *Let* in English when put alone by itself, hath not only two different, but two quite contrary meanings. For it signifies *to permit*, and it signifies also *to binder* ; but it never doth so in the context, but is thereby always so determined either to the one or to the other, that no one is ever led into a mistake hereby. And the same is to be said of all such words in Hebrew, as having the same letters
are

are susceptible of various punctuations. The letters here cannot determine to the punctuation, because they being in each the same, are indifferent to either. But what the letters cannot do, when the word is put alone by itself, that the other words always do, with which it is joined in the context. And it is want of attention, or want of apprehension, if any one thoroughly skill'd in the Hebrew Language makes a mistake herein; which may happen in the reading of any other Books whatsoever. And therefore though the Hebrew Bibles had never been pointed, we need not be sent either to the Church of *Rome*, or any where else, for the fixing of the readings of it, the letters alone with the context being sufficient, when we thoroughly understand the Language, to determine us thereto.

There is in the (*f*) Church of *St. Dominic* in *Bononia* a Copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, kept with a great deal of care, which they pretend to be the original Copy written by *Ezra* himself; and therefore it is there valued at so high a rate, that great sums of money have been borrowed by the *Bononians* upon the Pawn of it, and again repaid for its Redemption. It is written in a very fair Character upon a sort of Leather, and made up in a Roll according to the ancient manner; but it having the vowel points annexed, and the writing being fresh and fair without any decay, both these particulars prove the Novelty of that Copy. But such Forgeries are no uncommon things among the Papistical Sect.

But tho' *Ezra's* Government over all *Judab* and *Jerusalem* expir'd with this year, yet his labour to serve the Church of God did not here end, for still he went on as a Preacher of righteousness, and a skilful Scribe of the Law of God, to perfect the Reformation, which he had begun, both in preparing for

(*f*) Fini Adriani Flagellum Judæorum lib. 9. c. 2. Tiffardi Ambacei Grammatica Hebræa. Hottingeri Thesaurus Philologicus p. 115, & p. 513.

the people correct Editions of the Scriptures, and also in bringing all things in Church and State to be conform to the rules thereof. And this he continued to do as long as he lived, and herein he was thoroughly assisted and supported by the next Governor, who coming to *Jerusalem* with the same intention, and the same zeal for promoting of the honour of God and the welfare of his people in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* as *Ezra* did, he struck in heartily with him in the work ; so that *Ezra* went on still to do the same things by the Authority of the new Governor, which he before did by his own. And by their thus joining together in the same holy undertaking, and their mutual assisting each other therein, it exceedingly prospered in their Hands, till at length, notwithstanding all manner of oppositions both from within and from without, it was brought to full perfection forty-nine years after it had been begun by *Ezra*. Whether *Ezra* lived so long or not, is uncertain. But what he did not live to do, was completed by the piety and zeal of his Successor, with an account of whose Transactions I shall begin the next Book.





THE
OLD *and* NEW TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

Jews and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel*
and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VI.



E who succeeded *Ezra* in the Govern-
ment of *Judah* and *Jeru-*
salem was (a) *Nehemiah*, a
very religious and most
excellent Person, one that was no-
thing behind his Predecessor, saving
his Learning and great Knowledge in
the Law of God. He came to *Jerusalem* in the (b)

Anno 445.
Artaxerxes 20.

(a) *Nehemiah* ii.

(b) *Nehemiah* ii. 1. and v. 14.

twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and by a Commission from him superseded that of *Ezra*, and succeeded him in the Government of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. And he had in that Commission, by an express clause therein inserted, full Authority given him to repair the Walls and set up the Gates of *Jerusalem*, and to fortify it again in the same manner, as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the *Babylonians*. He was a *Jew*, whose Ancestors had formerly been Citizens of *Jerusalem*. For (c) there he saith was the place of his Fathers Sepulchres. But as to the Tribe or Family which he was of, no more is said, but only that his Father's name was *Hachaliah*; who seemeth to have been of those *Jews*, who having gotten good settlements in the Land of their Captivity, chose rather to abide in them, than return into their own Country, when leave was granted for it. It is most likely, that he was an Inhabitant of the City of *Shushan*, and that it was his dwelling there that gave his son an opportunity of gaining an advancement in the King's Palace. For he was one of the Cup-bearers of King *Artaxerxes*, (d) which was a place of great honour and advantage in the *Persian* Court, because of the privilege it gave him of being daily in the King's presence, and the opportunity which he had thereby of gaining his favour, for the obtaining of any Petition which he should make to him. And that especially since the times of his attendance always were, when the King was making his heart merry with the wine, which he served up unto him. For this is the best opportunity with all men, for the obtaining any boon that shall be desired of them, because they are always then in the best humour of complying. And it was (e) at such a time, that he asked the Government of *Judaea*, and obtained it. And by the like advantages of his place no doubt it was, that he gained those im-

(c) Nehemiah ii. 3. (d) Vide Brissonium De Regno Persiae lib. 1. § 93. (e) Nehemiah ii. 1.

menſe riches, which enabled him for ſo many years (f) out of his own private purſe only, to live in his Government, with that ſplendor and expence, as will be hereafter related, without burdening the people at all for it. And no doubt it was by the favour of Queen *Eſther*, as being of the ſame Nation and People with her, that he obtained ſo honourable and advantageous a preferment in that Court. However, neither the Honour and Advantage of this place, nor the long ſettlement of his family out of his Country, could make him forget his love for it; or lay aſide that zeal, which he had for the Religion of his forefathers, who had formerly dwelt in it. For tho' he had been born and bred in a ſtrange Land, yet he had a great love for *Sion*, and an heart thoroughly ſet for the advancing the proſperity of it, and was in all things a very religious Obſerver of the Law of his God. And therefore (g) when ſome came from *Jeruſalem*, and told him of the ill ſtate of that City, how the walls of it were ſtill in many places broken down, and the Gates of it in the ſame demolished ſtate as when burnt with fire by the *Babylonians*, and that by reaſon hereof the remnant of the Captivity that dwelt there lay open, not only to the incurſions and insults of their Enemies, but alſo to the Reproach and Contempt of their Neighbours, as a weak and deſpicable People, and that they were in both theſe reſpects in great affliction and grief of heart; the good man being ſuitably moved with this representation, applied himſelf in faſting and prayer unto the Lord his God, and earneſtly ſuppliated to him for his People of *Iſrael*, and the place which he had choſen for his worſhip among them. And having thus implored the divine mercy againſt this evil, he reſolved next to make his application to the King for the redreſſing of it, truſting in God for the inclining of his heart thereto. And therefore when his turn came next to wait in his Office,

(f) Nehemiah v. 14 — 19.

(g) Nehemiah i.

the (*b*) King observing his Countenance to be sad, which at other times used not so to be, and asking the cause thereof, he took this opportunity to lay before him the distressed state of his Country, and owning this to be a cause of great grief and sadness unto him, he prayed the King to send him thither to remedy it; and by the favour of Queen *Esther* he had his petition granted unto him. For it being particularly remarked (*i*) in the sacred Text, that the Queen was sitting by the King, when *Nehemiah* obtained this Grant, it sufficiently intimates that her favour was assisting to him herein. And accordingly a Royal Decree was issued out for the rebuilding of the Walls and Gates of *Jerusalem*, and *Nehemiah* was sent thither with it, as Governor of the Province of *Judea*, to put it in Execution. And to do him the more honour, the King sent a Guard of Horse with him, under the command of some of the Captains of his Army, to conduct him in safety to his Government. And he wrote letters to all the Governors on this side the River *Euphrates*, to further him in the work, on which he was sent; and also gave his order to *Asaph* the Keeper of his Forests in those parts, to allow him as much Timber out of them, as should be needed for the finishing of it. However the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, and the *Samaritans*, and other neighbouring Nations round, did all they could to hinder him from proceeding therein. And to this they were excited not only by the ancient and bitter enmity, which those people bore to the whole Jewish Nation, because of the different Manners and different Religions which they were of, but most especially at this time, because of their Lands. For during the time that the *Jews* were in Captivity, these Nations having seized their Lands, were forced (*k*) to restore them on their return. For which reason they did all they could to oppose their

(*b*) Nehemiah ii.
Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4.

(*i*) Nehemiah ii. 6.

(*k*) Josephus

refettlement, hoping that if they could be kept low, they might find an opportunity fome time or other of refuming again the prey they had loft. But *Nehemiah* was not at all difcouraged hereat. For having, on his arrival at *Jerufalem*, made known to the people the commiffion with which he was fent, he took a view of the ruins of the old Walls, and (l) immediately fet about the repairing of them, dividing the people into feveral Companies, and affigning to each of them the Quarter where they were to work, but referving to himfelf the reviewal and direction of the whole; in which he laboured fo effectually, that all (m) was accomplifhed by the end of the Month *Elul*, within the compafs of fifty two days, notwithstanding all manner of oppofition that was made againft him, both from within and from without. For from within, feveral falfe Prophets and other treacherous perfons endeavoured to create him obftuctions; and from without, *Sanballat the Horonite*, *Tobias the Ammonite*, *Gefhem the Arabian*, and feveral others gave him all the difturbance they were able, not only by underhand dealings, and treacherous tricks and contrivances, but alfo by open force: So that while part of the people laboured in carrying on the building, the other part flood to their arms to defend them againft the affaults of fuch as had defigns againft them. And all had their arms at hand, even while they worked, to be ready at a fignal given to draw together to any part, where the enemy fhould be difcovered to be coming upon them. And by this means they fecured themfelves againft all the attempts and defigns of their Enemies, till the work was brought to a conclufion. And when they had thus far finifhed the Walls, and fet up the Gates, a publick Dedication of them (n) was celebrated with great folemnity by the Priests and *Levites*, and all the people.

(l) *Nehemiah* iii. and iv.
miah xii.

(m) *Nehemiah* vi.

(n) *Nehemiah* xii.

The burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were forced to undergo to bring it to so speedy a Conclusion, being very great, and such as made (o) many of them faint and grone under it, and express a despair of being able to perfect it; to revive their drooping spirits, and make them the more easy and ready to proceed in that which was farther to be done, (p) care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of Usurers, which they then in great misery lay under, and had much greater reason to complain of. For the rich taking advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the *Centesima* for all monies lent them, (q) that is one *per Cent.* for every month, which amounted to twelve *per Cent.* for the whole year; so that they were forced to mortgage their Lands, and sell their Children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their Families; which being a manifest breach of the Law of God, given them by *Moses* (for (r) that forbids all the race of *Israel* to take usury of any of their Brethren) *Nehemiah* on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity; in order whereto he called a General Assembly of all the People, where having set forth unto them the nature of the Offence, how great a breach it was of the divine Law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it to be enacted by the general suffrage of that whole Assembly, that all should return to their Brethren whatsoever had been exacted of them upon usury, and also release all the Lands, Vineyards, Olive-yards, and Houses, which had been taken of them upon mortgage on the account hereof.

(o) Nehemiah iv. 10. (p) Nehemiah v. v. 11. Vide Salmasium de fœnore Trapezitico. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19.

(q) Nehemiah (r) Exod.

And thus far *Nehemiah* having executed the main of the end for which he obtained the favour of the King to be sent to *Jerusalem*, he appointed *Hanani* and *Hananiah* to be Governors of the City, and returned again unto him into *Persia*. For a time (*s*) had been set him for his return again to Court, when he first obtained to be sent from thence on this Commission, which as expressed in the Text plainly imports a short time, and not that of twelve years (after which (*t*) he again went unto the King) as some do interpret it. And his having appointed Governors of the City as soon as the Walls were built, evidently implies, that he then went from thence, and was absent for some time. For had he still continued at *Jerusalem*, he would not have needed any Deputies to govern the place. And furthermore, the building of the Walls of *Jerusalem* being all for which he prayed his first Commission, when this was performed, he seems to have needed a new authority before he could go on to other proceedings, which were necessary for the well settling of the affairs of that Country. But on his coming to the King, and having given him an account how all things stood in the Province, and what farther was needful to be done for the well regulating of it, he soon obtained to be sent back again to take care hereof; and the shortness of his absence seems to have been the cause that there is no notice taken of it in the Text, tho' the particulars I have mentioned seem sufficiently to imply it.

Nehemiah being returned from the *Persian* Court with a new Commission, forthwith set himself to carry on the Reformation of the Church and the State of the *Jews*, which *Ezra* had begun, and took along with him the advice and direction of that learned and holy Scribe in all that he attempted herein. The first thing that he did, was to provide for the security of

Anno 444.
Artaxerxes 21.

(*s*) Nehemiah ii. 6.

(*t*) Nehemiah xiii. 6.

the City, which he had now fortified, by settling rules for the opening and shutting of the Gates, and keeping watch and ward on the Towers and Walls. But (u) finding *Jerusalem* to be but thinly inhabited, and that to make this burden more easy, there needed more inhabitants to bear their share with them in it, he projected the thorough repeopling of the place. In order whereto (w) he prevailed first with the rulers and great men of the Nation to agree to build them Houses there, and dwell in them. And then others following their example, offered themselves voluntarily to do the same. And of the rest of the People every tenth man was taken by Lot, and obliged to come to *Jerusalem*, and there build them Houses, and settle themselves and families in them. And now the City was fortified, and all that had their dwelling in it were there well secured by Walls and Gates, against the insults of their Enemies, and the incursions of Thieves and Robbers, who before molested them, all willingly complied herewith; by which means the Houses as well as the Walls and Gates being again rebuilt, and fully replenished with Inhabitants, it soon after this recovered its ancient lustre, and became again a City of great note in those parts. So that *Herodotus*, who travelled through *Judea* a little after this time, doth in the Description which he gives us of it, (x) compare it to *Sardis*, the Metropolis of all the lesser *Asia*, (y) as hath been before observed; which manifestly proves, that by the restoring and building of the Street and Ditch of *Jerusalem*, mentioned in the Prophecy of *Daniel*, could not be meant this rebuilding of the Walls and void Places of that City. For what was predicted by that passage, was not to be done but in seven weeks of years, that is forty nine years. It must be acknowledged, that *Herodotus* is said (z) by *Eusebius*

(u) Nehemiah vii. 3, 4.
(w) Nehemiah xi.
(x) *Herodotus* lib. 3. initio libri.

(y) See above under the year 610.
(z) In *Chronico* sub *Olympiade* 83.

to have publickly read his History at *Athens* in the last year of the eighty third *Olympiad* (that is 445 years before Christ) and by (a) others to have gone the next year after (which is this very year 444, of which we now treat) with a Colony of *Athenians* and other Greeks into *Italy*, to inhabit *Thurium*, (b) a City then newly built near the place where formerly *Sibaris* stood; and therefore it may be from hence urged against what I have here said, that *Herodotus* must before this time have ended his Travels, which he undertook for the making of this History, since this his History was finished and publickly read at *Athens* the year before. To this I reply, that though he had read the first draught of this History at the time when *Eusebius* saith, yet he had not compleated it till at least thirty three years after. For therein he makes mention of the *Peloponnesian* war, and of things done in it (c) in the second, and also (d) in the nineteenth year of that war, which last was the 33d year after that, wherein he is said by *Eusebius* to have publickly read that History at *Athens*, and therefore it could not have been fully compleated by him till after that year. The Truth of the matter appears plainly to have been thus. In the year 445 before Christ, which was the last year of the 83d *Olympiad*, he did read his first draught of this History at *Athens*, being then thirty nine years old, but employed all his Life after farther to polish and complete it, and did not put his last hand to it till after the 19th year of the *Peloponnesian* war, which was the 33d after his first reading it at *Athens*. The next year after his having read it there, he went thence with the Colony to *Thurium*, that is in the first year of the 84th *Olympiad*, which was (e) the 310th of the building of *Rome* according to the *Varronian* ac-

(a) Dionysius Halicarnassensis in vitâ Lyfiæ Oratoris. Plinius lib. xii. c. 4. Strabo lib. xiv. p. 656. (b) Diodorus Siculus lib. xii. p. 76, 77, 78. (c) Herodotus lib. 7. (d) Herodotus lib. 9. (e) Plinius lib. 12. cap. 4.

count, and (f) twelve years before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war. And on his settling in that place he revised what he had publicly read at *Athens*, from whence it is that he is said by *Pliny* there to have made this History. And after his having continued some time at *Thurium*, he travelled from thence into the East for the farther compleating of this History, and also for the gaining of materials for another, which he was then composing, of *Affyria* and *Babylon*. But this last was never published, (g) tho' he refers to it in his other History now extant; the reason it's supposed was, that he liv'd not to finish it, tho' by the above-mentioned account it appears he out-lived the 72d year of his age, and by (b) other particulars in his History it seems most likely that he lived much longer. And I doubt not, it was in those Travels which he undertook from *Thurium*, that he went through *Judea*, and there saw *Jerusalem*, which he calls *Cadytis*. For that the City, which he describes under that name, could be none other than *Jerusalem*, I have already shewn.

Nebemiah finding it necessary to have the Genealogies of the people well examined into, and clearly stated, (i) betook himself in the next place to inquire into that matter. And this he did, not only for the sake of their civil rights, that all knowing of what Tribe and Family they were they might thereby be directed where to take their possessions; but especially for the sake of the Sanctuary, that none might be admitted to officiate there either as *Levites*, which were not of the Tribe of *Levi*, or as Priests, which were not of the Family of *Aaron*. And therefore for the true settling of this matter, search was made for the old Registers, and having among them found a Register of the Genealogies of those who came up at first from *Babylon* with *Zerubbabel* and *Je-*

(f) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis in vitâ Lyfiæ Oratoris.* (g) *Herodotus lib. 1.* (b) *Vide Usserii Annales sub Anno J. P. 4306.* (i) *Nehemiah vii.*

shua, he settled this matter according to it, adding such as afterwards came up, and expunging others whose Families were extinguished; and this hath caused the difference that is between the accounts which we have of these Genealogies in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. For in the 2d Chapter of *Ezra* we have the old Register made by *Zerubbabel*, and in the 7th of *Nehemiah* from the 6th verse to the end of the Chapter, a Copy of it as settled by *Nehemiah* with the alterations I have mentioned.

Ezra having compleated his Edition of the Law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly in the *Chaldean* Character, (*ij*) did this year on the Feast of Trumpets publicly read it to the people at *Jerusalem*. This Feast was celebrated (*k*) on the first of *Tisri*, the seventh month of the *Jews* Ecclesiastical year, and the first of their Civil year. Their coming out of *Egypt* having been in the month of *Nisan*, (*l*) from that time the beginning of the year in all Ecclesiastical matters was reckoned among them from the beginning of that month (which happened about the time of the Vernal Equinox) but (*m*) in all civil matters, as in contracts, bargains and such like, they still continued to go by the old Form, and begun their year from the first of *Tisri*, (which happened about the time of the autumnal Equinox) as all other Nations of the East then did (as hath been afore observ'd) and all instruments and writings relating to contracts, bargains, or other civil matters among them, were dated according to this year. And (*n*) all their Jubilees and (*o*) Sabbatical years begun with it. And therefore it being reckoned their new-year's day they celebrated it with a Festival. And this Festival being solemnized by the sounding of Trumpets from the morning of that day to the end of it, there-

(*ij*) Nehemiah viii.

(*k*) Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24.

(*l*) Exod. xii. 2.

(*m*) Josephus Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. Talmud in

Rosh Hashanah.

(*n*) Levit. xxv. 9.

(*o*) Levit. xxv. 8, 9.

Maimonides de Anno Sabbatico.

by to proclaim and give notice to all of the beginning of the new year, it hath from hence been called the Feast of Trumpets. For the celebrating of this Feast (p) the people being assembled from all parts of the Land at *Jerusalem*, and understanding that *Ezra* had finished his revivall of the Law, and written out a correct Copy of it, they called upon him to have it read unto them. Whereon a Scaffold or large Pulpit being erected in the largest street of the City, where most might stand to hear, *Ezra* ascended into it with thirteen others of the principal Elders of the people, and having placed six of them on his right hand and seven on his left, he stood up in the midst of them, and having blessed the Lord the great God, he began to read the Law out of the *Hebrew* Text. And as he did read it in this language, thirteen others of the *Levites*, whom he had instructed and appointed for this purpose, rendered it Period by Period into *Chaldee*, which was then the vulgar Language of the People, and therein gave them the meaning of every particular part, and made them understand the same. And thus the Holy Scribe, with these his assistants, continued from morning till noon to read and explain unto the people the Law of God, in such manner as might best make them to know and understand it. But it being a Festival day, when the time of dining approached, *Nehemiah*, and *Ezra*, and the rest that were assisting to them in thus instructing the people, dismissed them for that time to their Dinner, to eat and drink and rejoice before the Lord the remaining part of the day, because it was consecrated to be thus kept holy unto him. But the next morning they assembled again in the same place, and *Ezra* and his assistants went on farther to read and explain to them the Law of God, in the same manner as they had done the day before; and when they came to the 23d Chapter of *Leviticus*, wherein is written the Law of the Feast of Taberna-

(p) Nehemiah viii.

cles, and had from thence explained unto them the obligation which was upon them to observe this Festival, and shewn them, that the fifteenth day of that month was the day appointed for the beginning of it, this excited an eager desire in all the people of fulfilling the Law of God in this particular. And therefore Proclamation was forthwith made through all *Judah* to give notice of the Festival, and to warn all to be present at *Jerusalem* on the said fifteenth day of that month, for the observing of it. And accordingly they came thither at the time prescribed, and as they had been instructed from the Law of God, prepared Booths made of the Branches of Trees, and kept the Festival in them through the whole seven days of its continuance, in such solemn manner, as had not been observed before from the days of *Joshua* to that time. *Ezra* taking the advantage of having the people in so great a number thus assembled together, and so well disposed towards the Law of God, and the observance of it, went on with his assistants farther to read and explain it unto them, in the same manner as had been done in the two former days; and this they did day by day from the first day to the last day of the Festival, 'till they had gone through the whole Law. By which the people perceiving in how many things they had transgressed the commands of God, through the ignorance in which they had been kept of them (for till now the Law had never been to read to them since their return from *Babylon*) expressed great trouble of heart hereat, being much grieved for their Sins, and exceedingly terrified with the fear of God's wrath for the punishment of them. *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* finding them in so good a temper, applied themselves to make the best improvement that could be made of it, for the honour of God and the interest of Religion, and therefore (q) forthwith proclaimed a Fast to be held the next day save one after the Festival was ended, that

(q) *Nehemiah ix.*

is on the 24th day of the same month, to which having called all the people, while the sense of these things was fresh and warm on their minds, they excited them to make a publick and solemn confession before God of all their Sins, and also to enter into a solemn vow and covenant with God to avoid them for the future, and strictly hold themselves fast to the observance of God's Laws. The Observances which they chiefly obliged themselves to in this Covenant were ; 1st, Not to make intermarriages with the *Gentiles*, either by giving their daughters to them, or by taking any of their daughters to themselves ; 2^{dly}, To observe the Sabbaths and Sabbatical years ; 3^{dly}, To pay their annual Tribute to the Temple, for the repairing of it and the finding of all necessaries for the carrying on of the publick service in it ; and 4^{thly}, To pay the Tithes and first Fruits to the Priests and Levites. Which particulars thus especially named in this Covenant shew unto us, what were the Laws of God, which hitherto they had been most neglectful of since their return from their Captivity.

And it being their ignorance of the Law of God, that had led them into these Transgressions against it, and this ignorance having been occasioned by their not having it read unto them, for the preventing hereof for the future, they from this time got the learnedest of the Levites, and other Scribes, that were best skill'd in the Law of God, to read it unto them in every City, which at first they did no doubt in the same manner as *Ezra* had done, that is, by gathering the People together to them in some wide street, or other open place of their City, which was of fittest capacity to receive them. But the inconvenience of this being soon felt, especially in the winter and stormy seasons of the year, for the remedy hereof they erected them Houses or Tabernacles, wherein to meet for this purpose, and this was the original of Synagogues among them. That they had no Synagogues before the *Babylonish* Captivity is plain, not only from the silence which is of them in all the Scriptures

Scriptures of the old Testament, but also from several passages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in those days. For as it is a common saying among the *Jews*, (*r*) that where there is no Book of the Law, there can be no Synagogue; so the reason of the thing proves it. For the main service of the Synagogue being the reading of the Law unto the People, where there was no Book of the Law to be read, there certainly could be no Synagogue. But how rare the Book of the Law was through all *Judah* before the *Babylonish* Captivity, many Texts of Scripture tell us. When *Jehosaphat* sent teachers through all *Judah*, to instruct the People in the Law of God, they (*s*) carried a Book of the Law with them, which they needed not have done, if there had been any Copies of the Law in those Cities to which they went; which certainly there would have been, had there then been any Synagogues in them; it being the same Absurdity to suppose a Jewish Synagogue without a Copy of the Law, as it would with us to suppose a Parish Church without a Bible. And therefore as this proves the want of the Law through all *Judah* in those times, so doth it also the want of Synagogues in them. And when (*t*) *Hilkiab* found the Law in the Temple, neither he nor King *Josiah* needed have been so surprised at it, had Books of the Law been common in those times. Their behaviour on that occasion sufficiently proves, they had never seen it before, which could not be, had there then been any other Copies of it to be found among the People. And if there were no Copies of the Law at that time among them, there could then be most certainly no Synagogues for them to resort to, for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no Synagogues among the *Jews*, 'till after the *Babylonish* Captivity. And it is most probable, that *Ezra's* reading to them the

(*r*) Midrash Esther 123. 1. Tanchuma 54. 2. (*s*) 2 Chron. xvii. 9. (*t*) 2 Kings xxii.

Law, and the Necessity, which thereon they perceived there was of having it oftner read among them for their instruction in it, gave them the occasion of erecting them after the Captivity, in the manner as I have related, and most (u) learned men are of this opinion, and (w) some of the *Jews* themselves say as much. Concerning these Synagogues I think it proper here to inform the Reader ; 1st, In what places they were to be erected ; 2^{dly}, What was the service to be performed in them ; 3^{dly}, What were the times of their assembling for this service ; and 4^{thly}, Who were their Ministers to perform it.

I. As to the first, their Rule was, that a Synagogue was to be erected in every place, (x) where there were ten *Batehnim*, that is ten persons of full Age, and free Condition, always at leisure to attend the Service of it. For less than ten such according to them did not make a Congregation, and without such a Congregation present, no part of the Synagogue service could be performed ; and therefore wherever they could always be secure of such a Congregation, that is of ten such persons to be present at the service in all the stated times, in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a Synagogue. For where ten such persons might always be had at leisure to attend the Synagogue in all their religious Assemblies, this they reckoned a great City, and here they would have a Synagogue to be built, but not otherwise. For I take the Rule above-mentioned to be restrictive in the negative sense, as well as obligatory in the affirmative, and to shew where a Synagogue ought not to be built, as well as where it ought, that is, that no Synagogue ought to be built

(u) Spencer de Legibus Heb. Lib. 1. c. 4. § 10. Vitringa de Synagoga vetere Lib. 1. Part. 2. cap. 9, 10, 11, 12. Relandus in Antiquit. Sacr. Part. 1. c. 10. (w) Maimonides in Tephillah. (x) Megillah cap. 1. § 3. Maimonides in Tephillah. See also Lightfoot in his Harmony, Sect. 17. and in his Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew iv. 23.

in any place, where there were not such a number of Inhabitants, as might give a reasonable presumption, that there would be always ten persons at leisure to be present in every Synagogue Assembly, and that as well on the week days as on the Sabbaths, because without such a number they could not go on with the Synagogue Service. At first these Synagogues were few, but afterwards they became multiplied to a great number in the same manner as Parish Churches with us, which they much resembled. So that in our Saviour's time there was no Town in *Judea*, but what had one or more of them. The *Jews* tell us, that about that time (y) *Tiberias* alone, which was a City of *Galilee*, had twelve of them, and *Jerusalem* (z) 480; but here-in they are supposed to have spoken hyperbolically, and to have expressed an uncertain large number by a certain. If this were to be understood strictly and literally, what is said (a) by some of these ten *Batelnim*, that they were the stationary men of the Synagogue, hired to be always present to make a Congregation, must be understood of many of them. For were their number so multiplied, they could not otherwise in every one of them be always sure of a Congregation, especially on the working days of the week, two of which were always solemn Synagogue days, as well as the Sabbaths. It is *Lightfoot's* opinion that these ten *Batelnim* were the Elders and Ministers that governed and managed the Synagogue service; but this is said without a sufficient foundation to support it.

II. The service to be performed in these Synagogue Assemblies were Prayers, reading the Scriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

1st, For their Prayers they have Liturgies, in which are all the prescribed Forms of their Synagogue worship. These at first were very few, but since they are increased unto a very large Bulk, which makes

(y) Berachoth f. B. (z) See *Lightfoot's Geographical Century* c. 36. (a) *Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabanicum* p. 292.

their Synagogue service very long and tedious; and the Rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplex'd and intricate, and incumber'd with many rites and ceremonious Observances; in all which, they equal if not exceed both the Superstition, and also the length of the Popish Service. The most solemn part of their Prayers are those, which they call (*b*) *Shemoneh Esreh*, i. e. *The eighteen Prayers*. These they say were composed and instituted by *Ezra*, and the Great Synagogue; And to them *Rabbi Gamaliel*, a little before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, added the nineteenth against the Christians, who are therein meant under the names of Apostates and Hereticks. It is certain these Prayers are very ancient. For mention is made of them (*c*) in the *Mishnah* as old settled Forms; and no doubt is to be made but that they were used in our Saviour's time; at least most of them, (*d*) if not all the eighteen, and consequently that he joined in them with the rest of the *Jews*, whenever he went into their Synagogues, as (*e*) he always did every Sabbath-day. And from hence two things may be infer'd for the consideration of our Dissenters. 1st, That our Saviour disliked not set Forms of Prayer in publick worship. And 2^{dly}, That he was contented to join with the publick in the meanest Forms; rather than separate from it. For these eighteen Prayers in comparison of those now used in our Church, are very jejune and empty Forms; and that the Reader may see they are so, I shall here add a Translation of them in the same Order as they are in the Jewish Liturgies, adding the nineteenth Prayer to them, which according to the said Order is the twelfth in number, as here recited.

1. *Blessed be thou O Lord our God, the God of our*

(*b*) Of these see Maimonides in Tephillah. (*c*) In Berachoth cap. 4. § 3. (*d*) It must be acknowledged that some of these prayers seem to have been composed after the destruction of Jerusalem, and to have reference to it, especially the 10th, the 11th, the 14th and the 17th. Tho' it is possible some of these might refer to the calamities of the ancients times. (*e*) Luke iv. 16.

Fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the Great God, powerful and tremendous, the High God, bountifully dispensing benefits, the Creator and Possessor of the Universe, who remembreth the good Deeds of our Fathers, and in thy love sendest a Redeemer to those who are descended from them, for thy name sake, O King, our Helper, our Saviour and our Shield. Blessed art thou O Lord who art the Shield of Abraham.

2. *Thou O Lord art powerful for ever. Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save, thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the Earth, and sustaineest with thy beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou helpest up those that fall; thou curest the sick; thou loosest them that are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to thee O thou Lord of might? and who is like unto thee O our King, who killest and makest alive, and makest Salvation to spring up as the herb out of the field? Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life.*

3. *Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy Saints do praise thee every day. Selah. For a great King and an Holy art thou O God. Blessed art thou O Lord God most Holy.*

4. *Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding; give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men.*

5. *Bring us back O our Father to the observance of thy Law, and make us to adhere to thy Precepts; and do thou O our King draw us near to thy worship, and convert us to thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance.*

6. *Be thou merciful unto us O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us O our King, for we have transgressed against thee. For thou art a God, good and ready*
to

to pardon. Blessed art thou O Lord most gracious, who multiplieth thy mercies in the forgiveness of Sins.

7. Look we beseech thee upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our Litigations; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong Redeemer. Blessed art thou O Lord the Redeemer of Israel.

8. Heal us O Lord our God, and we shall be healed. Save us, and we shall be saved. For thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest, and art merciful. Blessed art thou O Lord our God, who curest the Diseases of thy People Israel.

9. Bless us O Lord our God in every work of our Hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our Land, and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the Earth, that is habitable. Blessed art thou O Lord, who givest thy Blessing to the years.

10. Convocate us together by the sound of the great Trumpet, to the enjoyment of our Liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the Captivity, from the four Quarters of the Earth into our own Land. Blessed art thou O Lord, who gatherest together the Exiles of the People of Israel.

11. Restore unto us our Judges as at the first, and our Counsellors as at the beginning, and remove far from us affliction and trouble, and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Blessed art thou O Lord our King, who lovest Righteousness and Justice.

12. (f) Let there be no hope to them, who Apostatise from the true Religion; and let Heretics, how many so-

(f) This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians, or as others say by Rabbi Samuel the little, who was one of his Scholars.

ever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let (g) the Kingdom of Pride be speedily rooted out, and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud.

13. Upon the Pious and the Just, and upon (b) the Proselytes of Justice, and upon the remnant of thy People of the House of Israel, let thy mercies be moved O Lord our God, and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed. For we put our Trust in thee. Blessed art thou O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the Just.

14. Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy City, as thou hast promised, build it with a building to last for ever, and do this speedily even in our Days. Blessed art thou O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.

15. Make the Offspring of David thy Servant speedily to grow up, and flourish, and let our Horn be exalted in thy Salvation. For we hope for thy Salvation every day. Blessed art thou O Lord, who makest the Horn of our Salvation to flourish.

16. Hear our voice O Lord our God most merciful Father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our prayers, with mercy and favour, and send us not away empty from thy presence O our King. For thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou O Lord, who hearest Prayer.

17. Be thou well pleased O Lord our God with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their Prayers; restore thy worship to (i) the inner part of thy House, and make

(g) The Roman Empire. (b) The Proselytes of Justice were such as received the whole Jewish Law, and conformed in all things to their Religion. Other Proselytes there were, who conformed only to the seven precepts of the Sons of Noah, and these were called the Proselytes of the Gate, because they worshipped only in the outer Court of the Temple, and were admitted no farther than the Gate leading into the Inner Courts.

(i) i. e. The Adytum Templi, which in the Temple at Jerusalem was the Holy of Holies, into which none ever enter'd but the High Priest once a year on the great day of Expiation. From this place after the Baby-

make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt Sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy People be continually well-pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion.

18. We will give thanks unto thee with praise. For thou art the Lord our God, the God of our Fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our Rock, and the Rock of our life, the shield of our Salvation. To all Generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life which is always in thy hands, and because of our Souls, which are ever depending upon thee, and because of thy signs, which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders, and marvellous loving-kindnesses, which are morning and evening and night continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving-kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee. And for all these mercies be thy name O King blessed, and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name O God of our Salvation, and our help. Selah. Blessed art thou O Lord, whose name is good, and whom it is fitting alway to give thanks unto.

19. Give Peace, Beneficence, and Benediction, Grace, Benignity, and Mercy unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us together as one man, with the light of thy Countenance. For in the light of thy Countenance hast thou given unto us O Lord our God the law of Life, and Love, and Benignity, and Righteousness, and Blessing, and Mercy, and Life, and Peace. And let it seem good in thine Eyes to bless thy People Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with Peace. Amen.

Ionish Captivity were wanting the Ark, the Mercy-seat, the Shechinah of the divine presence, and the Urim and Thummim, which causing an imperfection in their worship in respect of what it was formerly, a restoration of them seems to be that which is prayed for in this place.

Since

Since our Saviour spared not freely to tell the *Jews* of all the Corruptions, which they had in his time run into, and on all occasions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the will of God to use set forms of Prayer in his publick service, or had it been displeasing to him to be addressed to in such mean Forms, when much better might have been made; we may be sure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither: But he having never found fault with them for using set Forms, but on the contrary taught his own Disciples a set Form to pray by; nor at any time expressed a dislike of the Forms then in use, because of the meanness and emptiness of them, but always joined with them in their Synagogues in the Forms above recited, this may satisfy our Dissenters, if any thing can satisfy men so perversly bent after their own ways, that neither our using set Forms of Prayers in our publick worship, nor the using of such, which they think not sufficiently edifying, can be objections sufficient to justify them in their refusal to join with us in them. For they have the Example of *Christ* in both these thus directly against them. The truth is, whether there be a Form or no Form, or whether the Form be elegantly or meanly composed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our prayers unto God. It is the true and sincere Devotion of the Heart only, that can make them acceptable unto him; for it is this only that gives life and vigour, and true acceptance to all our religious Addresses unto him. Without this, how elegantly and moving soever the Prayer may be composed, and with how much seeming fervor and zeal soever it may be poured out, all is as dead matter, and of no validity in the presence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his worship, any form of Prayer, provided it be of sound words, may be sufficient to make us and our worship acceptable unto him, and obtain Mercy, Peace and Pardon from him. For it is not the fineness of speech, or the elegance of ex-

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pression,

pression, but the sincerity of the Mind, and the true devotion of the Heart only that God regards in all our Prayers, which we offer up unto him. It is true, a new gingle of words, and a fervent delivery of them by the Minister in Prayer, may have some effect upon the Auditors, and often raise in such of them, as are affected this way, a Devotion, which otherwise they would not have. But this being wholly artificial, which all drops again, as soon as the Engine is removed that raised it, it is none of that true habitual Devotion, which can alone render us acceptable unto our God in any of our addressees unto him. This we ought to bring with us, whenever we come into the House of God to worship before him, and with this in any form, which is of sound words, we may pray acceptably unto him, and none can ever do so without it. But whether any Form of such sound words can be well preserved in those extemporary effusions of Prayer, which some delight in, whether this doth not often lead them into undecent, and sometimes into blasphemous Expressions, to the great dishonour of God, and the damage of Religion, it behoves those who are for this way, seriously to consider.

But to return from whence I have digressed; (k) These nineteen Prayers were enjoined to be said by all that were of age, of what sex, or condition soever, either in publick, or in private, three times every day, that is, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night. And they were of that esteem, and are so still among them, that they allow the name of Prayer to be proper to the saying of these nineteen prayers only, looking on it by way of Eminence to be much more so, than the saying of all the rest. And therefore they are on every Synagogue day offered up in the solemnest manner in all their publick Assemblies. But these prayers are in their Offices, no other than as the Lord's Prayer in ours, that is, they

(k) Maimonides in Tephillah.

are the fundamental and principal part. For besides them they have many other Prayers, some going before, others interspersed between them, and others following after, which all together make their Synagogue service very long. (1) Our Saviour found fault with their Prayers for being too long in his time. Many additions in their Liturgies have made them much more so since.

2. The second part of their Synagogue service is the Reading of the Scriptures, which is of three sorts; 1st, The *Kiriath Shema*; 2^d, The reading of the Law; and 3^d, The reading of the Prophets; of the two latter I have already spoken, and therefore I shall now treat only of the first. (m) It consists in the reading of three Portions of Scripture. The first is from the beginning of the fourth verse of the sixth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the end of the ninth verse; the second from the beginning of the thirteenth verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the end of the twenty-first verse; and the third from the beginning of the thirty-seventh verse of the fifteenth Chapter of *Numbers*, to the end of the Chapter. And because the first of these Portions in the *Hebrew Bible* begins with the word *Shema*, i. e. *Hear*, they call all these three together the *Shema*, and the reading of them *Kiriath Shema*, that is *the reading of the Shema*. This reading of the *Shema* is accompanied with several Prayers and Benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the saying of the nineteen prayers, the solemnest part of their religious Service, and is in the same manner as that to be performed according to their Ritual every day (That is, either publicly in their Synagogue-Assemblies; or else privately out of them on those days, when there are no such Assemblies, or when they cannot be present at them) only with this difference, that whereas the nineteen

(1) Matth. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 47. (m) Maimonides in *Kiriath Shema* — Vitrina de Synagoga vetere lib. 3. part 2. cap. 15.

Prayers are to be said thrice every day, and by every person of age without any Exception; the reading or repeating of the *Shema* is only to be twice a-day, that is morning and evening, and the males only which are of free Condition are obliged to it, all women and servants being excused from the duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this *Shema* every morning and evening, because of the words of the Law, *Deuter. vi. 7. And thou shalt talk of them — when thou liest down and when thou risest up*; and also because of the like words, *Deuter. xi. 19.* The reading or repeating of this *Shema* in the manner, as is here related, they think, is of great moment for the preserving of Religion among them, as most certainly it must be, because thereby they do twice every day make confession of the unity of God, and of the duties which they owe unto him.

3. The third part of the Synagogue Service is the expounding of the Scriptures, and preaching to the people from them. The first was performed at the time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the Law and the Prophets was over. It is plain *Christ* taught the *Jews* in their Synagogues both these ways; when (*n*) he came to *Nazareth* his own City he was called out, as a member of that Synagogue, to read the *Haphterah*, that is the Section or Lesson out of the Prophets which was to be read that day. And when he had stood up and read it, he sat down and expounded it, as was the usage of the *Jews* in both these cases. For out of reverence to the Law and the Prophets they stood up, when they did read any portion out of either, and in regard to themselves as Teachers, they sat when they expounded. But in all other Synagogues, of which he was not a member, when he entered into them (as he always did (*o*) every Sabbath-day where-ever he was) he taught the People in Sermons after the reading of the Law and the Prophets was over. And so

(*n*) Luke iv. 16, 17, &c.

(*o*) Luke iv. 16.

St Paul (p) taught the Jews in their Synagogue at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*. For there it is expressly said in the sacred Text, that his preaching was after the reading of the Law and the Prophets was ended.

III. The Times of their Synagogues service (q) were three days a-week, besides their Holydays, whether Fasts or Festivals, and thrice on every one of those days, that is in the morning, and in the afternoon, and at night. Their Ordinary Synagogue days in every week were *Monday*, *Thursday*, and *Saturday*. *Saturday* was their Sabbath, the day set apart among them for religious Exercises by divine Appointment, and the other two by the Appointment of the Elders, that so three days might not pass without the publick reading of the Law among them. The reason which they give for this, is taken from their mystical interpretation of the Law. For whereas we find it said (*Exodus* xv. 22.) that the *Israelites* were in great distress on their travelling three days in the Wilderness without water, by water they tell us is there mystically meant the Law, and therefore say, that for this reason they ought not to be three days together without the hearing of it, and consequently for the avoiding hereof they have ordained, that it be publickly read in their Synagogues thrice every week. And their manner of doing it is as followeth. The whole Law, or five Books of *Moses*, being divided into as many Sections or Lessons, as there are weeks in the year, (as hath been before shewn) on *Monday* they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way thorough, and on *Thursday* proceeded to read the remainder; and on *Saturday*, which was their solemn Sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said Lesson or Section, and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the Sabbath they did read it in the evening, as well as in the morning, for the sake of Labourers and Artificers, who

(p) Acts xiii. 15.

(q) Maimonides in Tephillah.

could not leave their work to attend the Synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear twice every week the whole Section or Lesson of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the Prophets was added to that of the Law, they observed the same order in it. As the Synagogue service was to be on three days every week for the sake of their hearing the Law; so it was to be thrice on those days for the sake of their prayers. For it was a constant rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the Morning Sacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the Evening Sacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, because till then the Evening Sacrifice was still left burning upon the Altar. It's certain that it was anciently among God's people the steady practice of good and religious Persons, to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find *David*, and this we find *Daniel* did. For the former says (Psalm lv. 17.) *Evening, morning, and at noon will I pray.* And the latter tells us, That notwithstanding the King's Decree to the contrary, *he kneeled upon his knees three times a-day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did afore-time.* By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his constant custom so to do. They having had no Synagogues till after the *Babylonish* Captivity, till then they had not any set Forms for their Prayers, neither had they any solemn Assemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the Temple only. That was always the House of Prayer, (r) so *Isaiab*, and so from him (s) our Saviour calls it, and to this use *Solomon* consecrated it; and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the Morning and Evening Sacrifice, and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon; but on extraordinary days, as Sabbaths, Festivals, and Fasts, there being additional Sacrifices,

(r) Chap. lvi. 7. (s) Matth. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.
additions

additions were also made to the times of offering them, and both the Morning and the Evening service did then begin sooner than other days. As soon as they did begin (t) the Stationary men were present in the Court of *Israel*, to offer up their Prayers for the whole Congregation of *Israel*, and other devout Persons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the Court, called the Court of women, praying for themselves. But neither of these had any (u) publick Forms to pray by, nor any publick Ministers to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themselves, and all according to their own private conceptions. And therefore our Saviour (x) in the Parable of the Publican and Pharisee, making them to go up both together into the Temple to pray, introduceth them there, as each making his own Prayer for himself. For there all thus prayed, and so continued to do all the while the publick Sacrifices were offering up, both Morning and Evening. And (y) the offering up of Incense on the Golden Altar in the Holy Place, at every Morning and Evening Service in the Temple, was instituted on purpose to offer up unto God the Prayers of the People, who were then without, praying unto him. And hence it was, that (z) St. *Luke* tells us, that while *Zacharias* went into the Temple to burn Incense, *The whole multitude of the People were praying without at the time of Incense.* And for the same reason is it that (a) *David* prayed; *Let my prayers be set forth before thee, as Incense, and the lifting up of my hands, as the Evening Sacrifice.* And according to this usage is to be explained what we find in the *Revelations* (Chap. viii. 4, 5.) for there it is said, *That an Angel came and stood at the Altar, having a Golden Censer, and there was given unto him*

(t) See Lightfoot's *Temple Service*. (u) If there were any stated Forms for this worship, they were only as helps for those who prayed at the Temple, which every one offered up for himself without a publick Minister. (x) *Luke* xviii. 10, 11, 12, 13. (y) See Lightfoot's *Temple Service*, chap. 9. (z) Chap. i. 9, 10. (a) Psalm cxli. 2.

much Incense, that he should offer it up with the Prayers of all Saints upon the Golden Altar, which was before the Throne, and the Smoke of the Incense, which came with the Prayers of the Saints, ascended up before God out of the Angel's hands. For the Angel here mentioned is the Angel of the Covenant, *Christ* our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and as our Mediator constantly offers up our Prayers unto him. And the manner of his doing this, is here set forth by the manner of the typical Representation of it in the Temple. For as there at every Morning and Evening Sacrifice, the Priest in virtue of that Sacrifice entering into the Holy Place, and presenting himself at the Golden Altar, which stood directly before the Mercy-Seat (the Throne of God's visible presence among them, during the Tabernacle and the first Temple) did burn Incense thereon, while the people were at their Prayers without, thereby as Intercessor to God for them, to offer up their Prayers to him for his gracious acceptance, and to make them ascend up before him from out of his hands as a sweet smelling Savour in his presence; so *Christ* our true Priest, and most powerful Intercessor, by virtue of that one Sacrifice of himself once offered for all, being entered into the Holy Place, the Heaven above, is there continually present before the Throne of Mercy, to be a constant Intercessor for us unto our God; and while we are here in the outer Court of his Church in this World, offering up our Prayers unto our God, he there presents them unto him for us, and through his hands they are accepted as a sweet smelling Savour in his presence. And it being well understood among the *Jews*, that the offering up of the daily Sacrifices, and the burning of Incense upon the Altar of Incense, at the time of those Sacrifices, was for the rending of God propitious unto them, and making their prayers to be acceptable in his presence, they were very careful to make the times of these offerings, and the times of their Prayers, both at the Temple, and every where else, to be exactly the same.

same. And therefore as soon as Synagogues were erected among them, the Hours of publick Devotions in them on their Synagogue days, were as to morning and evening Prayers the same Hours, in which the morning and evening sacrifices were offered up at the Temple. And the same Hours were also observed in their private prayers, wherever performed. Most good and devout Persons that were at *Jerusalem*, chose on those times to go up into the Temple, and there offer up their Prayers unto God. And thus (b) *Peter* and *John* are said to go up into the Temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour of the day, which was at three in the afternoon, the time of the offering up of the Evening Sacrifice. For the *Jews* reckoned the hours of the day from six in the morning. Those who were in other places, or being at *Jerusalem* had not leisure to go up to the Temple, did then their devotions elsewhere, all thinking themselves obliged daily to say their Prayers at those times. If it were a Synagogue-day, they went into the Synagogue, and there prayed with the Congregation, and if it were not a Synagogue-day, they then prayed in private by themselves, and if they had leisure to go to the Synagogue, they chose that for the place to do it in, thinking such an holy place the properest for such an holy exercise, tho' performed there in their private persons only; but if they had not leisure to go to such an holy place, then they prayed wherever they were at the Hour of Prayer, though it were in the street or market-place. And for this it was, that our Saviour (c) found fault with them, when he told them that *they loved to pray standing in the Synagogues, and in the corners of the Streets*, thereby affecting more to be seen of Men, than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper Rooms in their Houses, which were as Chapels particularly set apart, and consecrated for this purpose. In (d) such an one *Cornelius* was praying at

(b) Acts iii. 1.

(c) Matth. vi. 5.

(d) Acts x. 3. and 30.
the

the ninth Hour of the day, that is at the time of the Evening Sacrifice, when the Angel appeared unto him. And such an one (e) *Peter* went up into to pray about the sixth hour of the day, when he had the vision of the great Sheet, that is half an hour past twelve or thereabout. For then the Evening Sacrifice did begin on great and solemn days, and such an one it seems hereby that was. And in such an (f) upper Room were the Holy Apostles assembled together in prayer, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them.

IV. As to the ministration of the Synagogue Service, it was not confined to the sacerdotal order. They were consecrated only to the service of the Temple, which was quite of another nature, as consisting only in the offering up of sacrifices and oblations. At the time indeed of the morning and evening sacrifices, the *Levites* and other singers sung Psalms of Praise unto God before the Altar, and in the Conclusion the Priests blessed the People, which may seem to bear some resemblance to what was done in the Synagogue. But in (g) all other particulars the publick Synagogue service was wholly different from the publick service of the Temple. Of what parts it consisted I have already explained. And any one that by learning was qualified for it, of what Tribe soever he were, was admitted to the administration. But, that order might be preserved, there were in every Synagogue some fixed Ministers to take care of the Religious duties to be perform'd in it. And these were by Imposition of hands solemnly admitted thereto. The first were the Elders of the Synagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of Religion therein to be performed. These are in the Scriptures of the new Testa-

(e) Acts x. 9. (f) Acts i. 13. See Mr. Mede, Book 2. Tract 1.
(g) Vide Buxtorfii *Synagogam Judaicam*, & Vitringam de *Synagoga veteri*.

ment (*b*) called Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, that is Rulers of the Synagogue. How many of these were in every Synagogue is no where said. But this is certain, they were more than one. For they are mentioned in Scripture (*i*) in the plural number in respect of the same Synagogue. And at *Corinth* (*k*) *Crispus* and *Sosthenes* are both said to be chief Rulers of the Synagogue, tho' it is not likely, that there was more than one Synagogue in that City. Next to them (or perchance one of them) was the Minister of the Synagogue, that officiated in offering up the publick prayers to God for the whole Congregation; who because he was the mouth of the Congregation delegated from them as their Representative, Messenger, or Angel, to speak to God in prayer for them, was therefore in the Hebrew Language called *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is *the Angel of the Church*. And hence it is, that the Bishops of the seven Churches of *Asia* are in the *Revelations*, by a name borrowed from the Synagogue, called the Angels of those Churches. For as the *Sheliach Zibbor* in the Jewish Synagogue was the prime Minister to offer up the Prayers of the People to God; so also was the Bishop the prime Minister to offer up the Prayers of the People to God in the Church of *Christ*. The Bishop indeed did not always officiate in this Ministry, because in every Church there were Presbyters under him, who often discharged this duty in his stead. Neither did the *Sheliach Zibbor* always discharge his duty in the Synagogue in his own proper person. He was the ordinary minister appointed to this office, but often others were Extraordinarily called out for the discharging of it, provided they were by age, gravity, skill, and piety of Conversation qualified for it. And whosoever was thus appointed to this Ministry, was the *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is *the Angel of the Congregation*, for that time. For the proper signification of the word used in the Hebrew Language for an Angel

(*b*) Mark v. 35, 36, 37. Luke viii. 41. and Chap. xiii. 14. Acts xiii. 15. (*i*) Mark v. 22. Acts xiii. 15. (*k*) Acts xviii. 8, 17.

is a *Messenger*. And therefore as a Messenger from God to the People is an Angel of God, so a Messenger from the People to God is an Angel of the People. In the latter sense only was the name of Angel given to the Minister of the Synagogue; but it belongs to the Minister of the Christian Church in both senses. For he is not only a Messenger of the People to God, in the offering up of the Prayers of the Congregation to him, but he is also a Messenger of God to them, in bringing from him the Messages of life, peace, and everlasting Salvation unto them. Next to the *Sheliach Zibbor* were the Deacons or inferior Ministers of the Synagogue, in Hebrew called *Chazanim*, that is *Overseers*; who were also fix'd Ministers, and under the Rulers of the Synagogue had the charge and oversight of all things in it, kept the sacred Books of the Law and the Prophets, and other Holy Scriptures, as also the Books of their Publick Liturgies, and all other Utensils belonging to the Synagogue, and brought them forth, whenever they were to be used in the publick Service. And particularly they stood by and overlooked them that did read the Lessons out of the Law and the Prophets, and corrected them and set them right, when they did read amiss, and took the Book of them again when they had done. And thus it is said of our Saviour (*l*) when he was called out to read the Lesson out of the Prophets in the Synagogue of *Nazareth*, of which he was a Member, that after he had done he gave the Book again to the Minister, that is the *Chazan* or Deacon of the Synagogue. For there was anciently no fix'd Synagogue Minister for the reading of the Lessons; But the Rulers of the Synagogue, when the time of the reading of those Lessons came, called out any member of the Congregation for this service, that was able to perform it. And it was usually done in this Order. A Priest was called out first, and next a *Levite*, if any of these orders were present in the Congregation, and after that

(*l*) Luke vi. 20.

any other *Israelite*, till they made up in all the number of seven. And hence it was anciently, that every Section of the Law was divided into seven lesser Sections, for the sake of these seven Readers. And in some Hebrew Bibles these lesser Sections are marked in the Margin; the first with the word *Cohen*, i. e. *The Priest*; the 2d with the word *Levi*, i. e. *The Levite*, the 3d with the word *Shelishi*, i. e. *The Third*; and so the rest with Hebrew words signifying the numbers following to the seventh, thereby to shew what part was to be read by the Priest, what by the *Levite*, and what by each of the other five, who might be any *Israelites* of the Congregation that were able to read the Hebrew Text, of what Tribe soever they were. The next fix'd Officer of the Synagogue after the *Chazanim* was the Interpreter. His business was to interpret into *Chaldee* the Lessons, as they were read in Hebrew to the Congregation; for which, learning and skill in both Languages being requisite, when they found a man fit for the office, they retained him by a Salary, and admitted him as a standing Minister of the Synagogue. When the blessing was to be given, if there were a Priest present in the Congregation, he always did the office, but if there were no Priest then present, the *Sheliach Zibbor*, who did read the prayers, gave the blessing also in a Form made proper for him. Thus far I have thought it might be helpful to the Reader, for his better understanding of the Scriptures, to have laid before him a short Scheme of the Synagogue worship of the *Jews*, as it was among them in ancient times. That which they at present retain, is in many particulars different from it. He that would be more fully informed of this matter, may read *Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica*, *Vitringa de Synagoga vetere*, and above all *Maimonides*, especially in his Tracts *Tephillab*, *Chagigab*, and *Kiriath Shema*.

Those, who think Synagogues to have been before the *Babylonish* Captivity, alledge for it what is said in the seventy-fourth Psalm, ver. 8. *They have burnt*

up all the Synagogues of God in the Land. But in the original the words are *Col moadbe El*, that is all the Assemblies of God; by which I acknowledge must be understood the places, where the people did assemble to worship God. But this doth not infer, that those places were Synagogues; and there are none of the ancient versions, excepting that of *Aquila*, that so render this passage. The chief place where the *Israelites* assembled for the worship of God, was the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and before that was built, the Tabernacle; and the open Court before the Altar was that part in both of them, where the People assembled to offer up their prayers unto God. But those that lived at a distance from the Tabernacle, while that was in being, and afterwards from the Temple, when that was built, not being able at all times to resort thither, they built Courts like those in which they prayed at the Tabernacle and at the Temple, therein to offer up their prayers unto God, which in after-times we find called by the name of *Proseuchæ*. Some of the Latin Poets (*m*) make mention of them by this name; and into one of them our Saviour is said to have gone to pray; and (*n*) to have continued therein a whole night; and in another of them (*o*) *St. Paul* taught the People of *Philippi*. They differed from Synagogues in several particulars. For 1st, in Synagogues the Prayers were offered up in publick Forms in common for the whole Congregation; but in the *Proseuchæ* they prayed as in the Temple every one apart for himself; and so (*p*) our Saviour prayed in the *Proseucha*, which he went into. 2dly, The Synagogues were covered Houses; but the *Proseuchæ* were open Courts, built, (*q*) saith *Epiphanius*, in the

(*m*) Juv. Sat. 3. (*n*) Luke vi. 12. For what our English there renders, *And continued all night in Prayer to God*, is in the Original *ἡν διαβύλεσθαι ἐν τῇ Προσευχῇ τῷ Θεῷ*, i. e. *And he continued all night in a Proseucha of God*. (*o*) Acts xvi. For in that Chapter, ver. 13. and 16. what we render in our English version by the word *Prayer*, is in the Original a *Proseucha*, or Place of Prayer. (*p*) Luke vi. 12. (*q*) In Tract. de Messalianis Hæreticis.

manner of Forums, which were open inclosures, where anciently at *Rome* and in other Cities under Democratical Governments, the People used to assemble for the transacting of the business and affairs of the publick. And such a *Proseucha*, (*q*) *Epiphanius* tells us, the *Samaritans* had in his time near *Sechem*. 3dly, Synagogues were all built within the Cities, to which they did belong; but the *Proseuchæ* without, and mostly in High Places; and that in which our Saviour prayed was (*r*) on a Mountain; which makes it probable, that these *Proseuchæ* were the same, which in the old Testament are called *High-Places*. For these *High-Places* are not always condemned in Scripture, but then only when they were made use of for Idolatrous worship, or in a Schismatical way by erecting Altars in them, in opposition to that which was in the place that God had chosen; otherwise they (*s*) were made use of by Prophets and good Men, as several instances hereof in Scripture do fully prove. And I am confirmed in this opinion, in that the *Proseuchæ* had Groves in or about them, in the same manner as the *High-Places* had. And no doubt (*t*) the sanctuary of the Lord, in which *Joshua* did set up his Pillar under the Oak or Oaken Grove in *Sechem*, was such a *Proseucha*, and it's plain from the Text that (*t*) it had a Grove of Oaks in it. And the *Proseuchæ* which *Pbilo* makes mention of in *Alexandria* (*u*) had such Groves in or about them; and that at *Rome* (*x*) in *Egeria's* Grove was of the same sort. And perchance where (*y*) the *Psalmist* makes mention of Green Olive Trees in the House of God, such a *Proseucha* is there meant. And such an one also anciently was (*z*) in *Mispa*, as the Author of the first Book of the *Maccabees* tells us. And all these were *Moadhe*

(*q*) In Tract. de Messalianis Hæreticis. (*r*) Luke vi. 12. (*s*) 1 Sam. ix. 19. Chap. x. 5, &c. (*t*) Joshua xxiv. 26. (*u*) For he complains that the *Alexandrians* in a Tumult, which they there made against the *Jews*, did cut down the Trees of their *Proseuchæ*. In Legatione ad Caium Cæsarem. (*x*) Juvenal. Sat. 3. (*y*) Psalm lii. 8. (*z*) 1 Maccab. iii. 46.

El, and might be understood by that Phrase in the *Psalmist*. It must be acknowledged, that altho' some *Proseuchæ* were still in being in our Saviour's time, yet by that time Synagogues being made use of for the same purpose, as the *Proseuchæ* were formerly, Synagogues were then also called by the same name with the *Proseuchæ*, and so *Josephus* and *Philo* seem to use the word, tho' it seems from the latter, that some of the Synagogues of the *Jews* in *Alexandria* were built after the same manner, as the ancient *Proseuchæ*, without Roofs. And it makes this the more probable, that in *Egypt* it never or very seldom raining, they there stood more in need of open air in their publick Assemblies, and Trees to shelter them from the Sun in that hot Country, than of Roofs over them, to shelter them from the weather. And these, *Philo* (a) complains, the *Alexandrians* did cut down, when they there rose in a Tumult against the *Jews*, that then dwelt with them in that City. And besides these *Proseuchæ*, there were other places to which the *Israelites* before the Captivity frequently assembled, upon the account of Religion. For they often resorted to the Cities of the *Levites*, to be taught the Ritual and other Ceremonies of the *Mosaical* Law, and to the Schools of the Prophets for all other instructions relating to the things of God; and to these last it's plain from (b) Scripture, that they usually resorted on the Sabbaths, and new Moons; and what end could there be of this resort, but for instruction in their duties to God? And therefore these places also, as well as the *Proseuchæ*, were *Mo-adbe El*, i. e. Places of assembling on the account of Religion, and consequently of all these may the *Psalmist* be understood in the places above-mentioned. Whether this *Psalms*, as well as the 79th, were written prophetically by that *Asaph*, (c) who lived in the time of *David*, of the *Babylonish* Captivity (to which

(a) In Legatione ad Caium. (b) 2 Kings iv. 23. (c) 1 Chron. xvi. 5, 7, 37.

it's plain they both relate) or else by some other after it, as is (d) most probable, I shall not here examine. All that is proper for me here to take notice of is, that nothing which is in either of these *Psalms* can prove, that there were any such things as Synagogues, wherein the Scriptures were read, or publick Prayers offered up unto God, 'till after the *Babylonish* Captivity.

And if it be examin'd into, how it came to pass, that the *Jews* were so prone to Idolatry before the *Babylonish* Captivity, and so strongly and cautiously, even to superstition, fixed against it after that Captivity, the true reason hereof will appear to be, that they had the Law and the Prophets every week constantly read unto them after that Captivity, which they had not before. For before that Captivity they having no Synagogues for publick worship or publick Instruction, nor any places to resort to for either, unless the Temple at *Jerusalem*, or the Cities of the *Levites*, or to the Prophets, when God was pleased to send such among them; for want hereof, great ignorance grew among the People; God was little known among them, and his laws in a manner wholly forgotten. And therefore as occasions offered, they were easily drawn into all the superstitions and idolatrous usages of the neighbouring Nations, that lived round about them, 'till at length for the punishment hereof God gave them up to a dismal destruction in the *Babylonish* Captivity: But after that Captivity, and the return of the *Jews* from it, Synagogues being erected among them in every City, to which they constantly resorted for publick worship, and where every week they had the Law from the first, and after that from the time of *Antiochus's* persecution the Prophets also read unto them, and were by Sermons and Exhortations, there delivered at least every Sabbath, instructed in their Duty, and excited to the obedience of it; This kept them in a

(d) Vide Bocharti Hierozoic. Part 1. lib. 3. cap. 29.

thorough knowledge of God and his Laws. And the threats which they found in the Prophets against the Breakers of them, after these also came to be read among them, deterred them from transgressing against them. So that the Law of *Moses* was never more strictly observed by them, than from the time of *Ezra* (when Synagogues first came into use among them) to the time of our Saviour, and they would have been unblameable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt Traditions of their own devising, whereby at length (as (e) our Saviour chargeth them) they made the Law itself of none effect. And as by this method the Jewish Religion was preserved in the times mentioned, so also was it by the same, that the Christian was so successfully propagated in the first ages of the Church, and hath ever since been preserved among us. For as the *Jews* had their Synagogues in which the Law and the Prophets were read unto them every Sabbath; so the Christians had their Churches, in which from the beginning all the doctrines and duties of their Religion were every Lord's day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's blessing upon this method chiefly was it, that this Holy Religion still bore up against all oppressions, and notwithstanding the ten Persecutions, and all other Artifices and Methods of cruelty and oppression, which Hell and Heathenism could devise to suppress it, grew up and increased under them; which *Julian the Apostate* was so sensible of, that when he put all his wits to work to find out new methods for the restoring of the Heathen impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this purpose, than (f) to imploy his Philosophers to preach it up every week to the people, in the same manner as the Ministers of the Gospel did the Christian Religion. And had it not pleased God to cut him off before he could put this design in Execution,

(e) Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.
Orat. in Julianum Apostatam.

(f) Gregorii Nazianzeni

it is to be feared his success herein would in a very great measure have answered what he proposed by it. But to Christians, above all others, this must be of the greatest benefit. For the Doctrines of our Holy Religion having in them the sublimest Principles of Divine knowledge, and the Precepts of it containing all the duties of Morality in the highest manner improved, nothing can be of greater advantage to us for the leading of us to the truest happiness we are capable of, as well in this life as in that which is to come, than to have these weekly taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our Consciences for the forming of our lives according to them. And the Political State or Civil Government of every Christian Country is no less benefited hereby, than the Church itself. For as it best conduceth to keep up the Spirit of Religion among us, and to make every Man know his Duty to God, his Neighbour, and himself; so it may be reckoned of all methods the most conducive to preserve peace and good order in the State. For hereby Subjects are taught to be obedient to their Prince and his Laws, Children to be dutiful to their Parents, Servants to be faithful to their Masters, and all to be just, and charitable, and pay all other Duties, which in every relation they owe to each other. And in the faithful discharge of these Duties doth the peace, good order and happiness of every Community consist. And to be weekly instructed in these Duties, and to be weekly excited to the Obedience of them, is certainly the properest and the most effectual method to induce Men hereto. And it may justly be reckoned that the good order, which is now maintained in this Kingdom, is more owing to this method, than to any other now in practice among us for this end; and that one good Minister by his weekly preaching and daily good example, sets it more forward than any two of the best Justices of the Peace can, by their exactest diligence in the Execution of the Laws which they are intrusted with. For these by the utmost of their co-

cions can go no farther, than to restrain the outward Acts of wickedness; but the other reforms the heart within, and removes all those evil inclinations of it, from whence they flow. And it is not to be doubted, but that if this Method were once dropped among us, the generality of the People, whatever else may be done to obviate it, would in seven years time relapse into as bad a State of Barbarity, as was ever in practice among the worst of our *Saxon* or *Danish* Ancestors. And therefore supposing there were no such thing in truth and reality, as that Holy Christian Religion, which the Ministers of the Gospel teach (as too many among us are now permitted with impunity to say) yet the service which they do the Civil Government, in keeping all Men to those Duties, in the observance of which its peace, good order and happiness consist, may very well deserve the maintenance which they receive from it.

Nehemiah, after he had held the Government of *Judab* twelve years, (g) returned to the *Persian* Court, either recalled thither by the King, or else going thither to solicit for a new Commission after the expiration of the former. During all the time that he had been in his Government, he managed it with great Justice, (b) and supported the Dignity of his Office through these whole twelve years with a very expensive and hospitable magnificence. For there sat at his Table every day an hundred and fifty of the *Jews* and Rulers, besides Strangers, who came to *Jerusalem* from among the Heathen Nations that were round about them. For as occasions brought them thither, if they were of any quality, they were always invited to the Governor's House, and there hospitably and splendidly entertained. So that there was provided for him every day one Ox, six choice Sheep, and Fowls and Wine, and all other things in Proportion hereto, which could not but amount to a great expence; yet

(g) *Nehemiah* v. 14. and xiii. 6. (b) *Nehemiah* v. 14, 19.

all this he bore through these whole twelve years, out of his own private purse, without burdening the Province at all for it, or taking any part of that allowance, which before was raised out of it by other Governors, to support them in their station; which argues his great generosity, as well as his great love and tenderness to the people of his Nation, in thus easing them of this burden, and also his vast Wealth in being able so to do. The Office which he had been in at Court, gave him the opportunity of amassing great riches, and he thought he could not better expend them, than in the service of his Country, and by doing all he could to promote the true interest of it both in Church and State, and God prospered him in the work according to the great zeal, with which he laboured in it.

About this time flourished (i) *Meto* the famous *Athenian* Astronomer, who invented the *Enneadecaeteris*, or the Cycle of nineteen years, ^{Anno 432.} which we call the Cycle of the Moon, the ^{Artaxerxes 33.} numbers whereof being by reason of the Excellency of their use, written in the ancient Kalendars in Golden Letters, from hence in our present Almanacks that number of this Cycle, which accords with the year for which the Almanack is made, is called the Golden Number. For it is still of as great use to the Christians for the finding out of Easter, and also to the *Jews* for the fixing of their three Great Festivals, as it was to the ancient *Greeks* for the ascertaining of the times of their Festivals. And for this last end was it that *Meto* invented it. For the *Greeks* being directed by an Oracle to observe all their solemn Sacrifices and Festivals (k) *Κατὰ τρεῖς*, i. e. according to three, and this being interpreted to mean years, months and days, and that the years were to be reckoned according to the Course of the Sun, and the months and days according to that of the Moon,

(i) Diodorus Siculus lib. 12. p. 305. Ptolemæi Magna Syntaxis lib. 3. c. 2. (k) Geminus in Isagoga cap. 6.

they thought themselves obliged hereby to observe all these solemnities at the same seasons of the year, and on the same Month, and on the same day of the Month. And therefore (*l*) endeavours were made to bring all these to meet together, that is to bring the same months and all the days of them to fall as near as possible within the same times of the Sun's course, that so the same solemnities might always be celebrated within the same seasons of the year, as well as in the same months and on the same days of them. The difficulty lay in this, that whereas the year according to the Course of the Sun (which is commonly called the Solar year) is made by that Revolution of it which brings it round to the same point in the Ecliptic, and the *Greeks* reckoned their Months by those Revolutions of the Moon, which brought it round to the same Conjunction with the Sun, *i. e.* from one new Moon to another, and twelve of these Months made their common year (which is commonly called the Lunar year) this Lunar year fell eleven days short of the Solar. And therefore their Oracle could not be observed in keeping their solemnities to the same seasons of the year, without Intercalations. For otherwise their solemnities would be anticipated eleven days every year, and in thirty three years space would be carried backward through all the seasons of the year (as is now done in *Turkey* where they use this sort of year) and to intercalate these eleven days every year, would make as great a breach upon the other part of the Oracle, as to the months and days. For then every year would alter the day, and every three years the month. And besides it would make a breach upon the whole Scheme of their year. For with them, in the same manner as with the *Jews*, their months always began with a new moon, and their years were always made up of these Lunar months, so as to end exactly with the

(*l*) Vide Scaligerum de emendatione Temporum, Petavium de Doctrina Temporum, aliosque Chronologos.

last day of the last moon, and to begin exactly with the first day of the next moon. It was necessary therefore for the bringing of all to fall right according to the directions of the Oracle, that the Intercalations should be made by Months; and to find out such an intercalation of Months as would at length bring the Solar year and the Lunar year to an exact agreement, so that both should begin from the same point of time, was that which was to be done for this purpose. For thus only could the solemnities be always kept to the same seasons of the year, as well as to the same Months, and the same days of them, and constantly be made fall within the compass of one Lunar Month at most, sooner or later within the same times of the Solar year. And therefore in order hereunto Cycles were to be invented; and to find out such a Cycle of years, wherein by the intercalation or addition of one or more Months this might be effected, was the great study and endeavour of the Astronomers of those times. The first attempt that was made for this purpose was that of the *Dieteris*, a Cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one Month; but in two years time the excess of the Solar year above the Lunar being only twenty-two days, and a Lunar Month making twenty-nine days and an half, this Intercalation instead of bringing the Lunar year to a reconciliation with the Solar, over-did it by seven days and an half; which being a fault, that was soon perceived, for the mending of it the *Tetraeteris* was introduced, which was a Cycle of four years, wherein it was thought that an intercalation of one month would bring all that to rights, which was over-done by the like intercalation of the *Dieteris*. And this was contrived chiefly with a respect to their *Olympic Games*. For they being the Chiefest of their Solemnities, and celebrated once every four years, care was taken to bring this Solemnity every fourth year as near as they could to the same time of the solar year, in which it was performed the *Olympiad* before, which regularly
ought

ought always to have been begun according to the Original Institution of that Solemnity, on the first full moon after the summer Solstice, and it was thought that an intercalation of one month in four years would always bring it to this time. But four Solar years exceeding four Lunar years forty-three days and an half, the adding one Lunar month or twenty-nine days and an half (of which it consists) fell short of curing this defect full fourteen days, which fault soon discovering itself, for the amending of it they intercalated alternatively one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the *Osteteris* or the Cycle of eight years, wherein by intercalating three months they thought they brought all to rights, and indeed it came much nearer to it, than any of the former Cycles. For by this Intercalation the eight Lunar years were brought so near to eight Solar years, that they differed from them only by an excess of one day fourteen hours and nine minutes. And therefore this Cycle continued much longer in use than any of the rest. But at length the error by increasing every year grew great enough to be also discovered, which produced the invention of several other Cycles for the remedying of it, of which this invented by *Meton* of nineteen years is the perfectest. For it brings the two Luminaries to come about to the same points within two hours one minute and twenty seconds; so that after nineteen years the same new moons and the same full moons do within that space come about again to the same points of time in every year of this Cycle, in which they happened in the same year of the former Cycle. And to a nearer agreement than this no other Cycle can bring them. This Cycle is made up of nineteen Lunar years and seven Lunar months by seven Intercalations added to them. The years of this Cycle in which these Intercalations were made, were the 3d, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th, according to *Petavius*; but according to Mr. *Dodwell* they were the 3d, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th.

19th. Each of these seven intercalated years consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. The chief use of this Cycle among the *Greeks* being to settle the times of celebrating their Solemnities, and that of their *Olympiads* being the chiefest of them, and on the fixing of which the fixing of all the rest did depend, it was in the first place applied to this purpose; and the rule of these *Olympiads* being, that they were to be celebrated on the first full moon after the summer Solstice, in order to settle the time of their celebration it was necessary in the first place to settle the time of the summer Solstice, and this *Meton* observed this year to be on the twenty-first day of the *Egyptian* month *Phamenoth*, which reduced to the *Julian* year falls on the twenty-seventh of *June*. And therefore the *Greeks* having received this Cycle, did from this time forward celebrate their *Olympiads* on the first full moon after the twenty-seventh day of our *June*, and thenceforth also began their year from the new moon preceding, whereas before they begun it from the winter Solstice, and they calculated both the new moon and the full moon by this Cycle; so that from this time the new moon immediately preceding the first full moon after the summer Solstice was the beginning of their year, and that first full moon after the said Solstice in every fifth year was the time of their *Olympiads*. For that year in the beginning of which this solemnity was celebrated, was in their computation of time called the first year of that *Olympiad*, reckoning from the new moon preceding; and in the beginning of the fifth year after they celebrated the next *Olympiad*, which made the time from one *Olympiad* to another to be just four years according to the measure of the years then used.

But this use of the Cycle ceasing with the solemnities of the Heathen *Greeks*, after that Christianity had gotten the ascendant in the *Roman* Empire, it thenceforth became applied to another use, and that not only by the Christians, but also by the *Jews*.
For

For by it the Christians after the Council of *Nice* settled our *Easter*. And from them some few years after the *Jews* learnt to make the like use of it, for the fixing the time of their Passover, and the making of their intercalations in order to it. But of the manner how each of them applied it for these purposes, there will be hereafter an occasion fully to treat, in a place more proper for it.

The (m) war between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, called the *Peloponnesian* war, (of Anno 431. (n) which *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* have Artaxerxes 34. written the History) begun about the end of the first year of the eighty-seventh *Olympiad*, which lasted twenty-seven years. As soon as they had entered on it, both parties (o) sent their Ambassadors to King *Artaxerxes* to engage him on their side, and pray his aid in the War.

About the same time there broke out a most grievous Pestilence, which did over-run a great part of the World. It begun first in *Ethiopia*; from thence it came into *Libya* and *Egypt*; and from *Egypt* it invaded *Judea*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, and from those parts it spread itself through the whole *Persian* Empire; from whence it passed into *Greece*, and grievously afflicted the *Athenian* State, destroying a great number of their people, and among them died (p) *Pericles* the chiefest and eminentest man of that City, whose wisdom, while he lived, was the main stay and support of that Republic, and of whom only it can be said, that he maintained himself in full credit for forty years together in a popular Government. *Thucydides* hath (q) in his History given us a very full account of this Disease, having had thorough Experience of it. For he had it himself, and after that

(m) *Thucydides* lib. 2. (n) *Thucydides* gives an account of the first 21 years of this war, and *Xenophon's* *Hellenics* continues the Greek History from thence. (o) *Thucydides* lib. 2. *Herodotus* lib. 7. (p) *Plutarchus* in *Pericle*. *Thucydides* lib. 2. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 12. p. 310. (q) *Lib.* 2.

being out of danger of suffering any more by it, he freely visited a great many others that were afflicted with it, and thereby had sufficient opportunity of knowing all the symptoms and calamities that attended it. *Lucretius* hath also given us a Poetical description of it, and (r) *Hippocrates* hath written of it as a Physician. For that great Master of the Art of Physic lived in those times, and was at *Athens* all the while this Distemper raged there. *Artaxerxes* invited him with the promise of great rewards, to come into *Persia* during this Plague, to cure those who were infected with it in his Armies. But his answer was, that he would not leave the *Grecians* his Countrymen in this Distress, to give his help to *Barbarians*. There are several Epistles still extant at the end of *Hippocrates's* works, said to be written by *Artaxerxes*, and by *Hystanes* his Prefect on the *Hellepont*, and by *Hippocrates* himself about this matter. Some think them not to be genuine, but do not give any reasons sufficient to convict them of it. Many instances in the Histories of those times do acquaint us, how fond the *Persians* were of *Greek* Physicians. And *Artaxerxes* looking on himself as the greatest of Kings, might well enough think he had the best title to have the greatest of Physicians to attend upon him, and therefore offered the greatest of rewards to draw him to him. But *Hippocrates* having a mind above the temptations of Gold and Silver, returned him the answer I have mentioned, which provoked him so far, that he sent to *Cos* the City of *Hippocrates*, and where he then was, to command them to deliver unto him *Hippocrates* to be punish'd according to his perverseness, threatening them with the demolition of their City, and the utter ruin of the whole Island in which it stood, if they did not comply with him herein. But the *Coans* in their Answer did let him know, that no threats should ever induce them to betray so eminent a Citizen into his hands. This

(r) Lib. 3. Epidem. Sect. 3.

was before *Hippocrates* went to *Athens*. For this Plague had ravaged through the *Persian* Empire before it came to that City, and it was not till the next year after this, that the *Athenians* were infested with it, that is in the second year of the *Peloponnesian* war, as *Thucydides* tells us.

Nebemiah, on his return to the *Persian* Court having tarried there about five years in the execution, as it may be supposed, of his former Office, at length obtained of the King to be sent back again to *Jerusalem* with a new Commission. The generality of Chronologers as well as the Commentators upon this part of Scripture, make this his coming back thither to be much sooner. But considering the many and great corruptions which he tells us in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book, the *Jews* had run into in his absence, it cannot be conceived how in less than five years time, they could have grown up to such an height among them. He had been twelve years reforming what was amiss among them, and *Ezra* had been doing the same for thirteen years before him, whereby they had brought their reformation to such a State and Stability, that a little time could not have been sufficient in such a manner again to have unhinged it. It is much more likely, that all this was longer than five years a doing, than that it should come to pass in so short a time. It is indeed expressed in our *English* Version, that *Nebemiah* came back again from the *Persian* Court to *Jerusalem* (s) after certain days; But the *Hebrew* word *yamim*, which is there rendred *days*, signifieth also years, and is in a great many places of the *Hebrew* Scriptures so used.

About this time most likely lived *Malachi* the Prophet. The greatest of the corruptions, which he chargeth the *Jews* with, are the same with those which they had run into in the time of *Nebemiah's* absence, and therefore it is most probable, that in

(s) *Nehemiah* xiii. 6.

this time his prophecies were delivered. It is certain the Temple was all finished, and every thing restored therein before his time. For there are passages in his Prophecies which clearly suppose it; and he doth not in them charge the *Jews* with neglecting the restoring of the Temple, but their neglecting what appertained to the true worship of God in it. But in what time it was after the restoration of the Temple, that he prophesied, is no where said in Scripture, and therefore we can only make our Conjectures about it, and I know not where any Conjecture can place it with more probability, than in the time, where I have said.

Many things having gone wrong among the *Jews* during the absence of *Nehemiah*, as hath been above mentioned, as soon as he was again settled in the Government (t) he applied himself with his usual zeal and diligence to correct, and again set to rights whatsoever was amiss. And that which he first took notice of, as what by the flagrancy of the Offence, as well as by reason of the place where committed, was the most obvious to be resented by so good a man, was (u) a great Prophanation, which had been introduced into the Temple for the sake of *Tobias* an *Ammonite*. This man, though he had made two Alliances with the *Jews*, (for (x) *Johanan* his son had married the daughter of *Mesbullam* the son of *Berachia* (y) who was one of the chief managers of the rebuilding of the Wall of *Jerusalem* under the direction of the Governor, and he himself had married the daughter of *Shecaniah* the son of *Arab*, another great man among the *Jews*,) yet being an *Ammonite* (z) he bore a national hatred to all that were of the race of *Israel*, and therefore envying their Prosperity, and being averse to whatsoever might promote it, did the utmost that he could to obstruct *Nehemiah* in all that

(t) Chap. xiii.
miah vi. 18.
vi. vi.

(u) Nehemiah xiii. 7, 8, 9.
(y) Nehemiah iii. 4.

(x) Nehe-
miah ii.

he did for the good of that People, and confederated with *Sanballat* their greatest Enemy to carry on this purpose. However, by reason of the alliances I have mentioned, he had (a) many correspondents among the *Jews*, who were favourers of him, and acted insidiously with *Nehemiah* on his account. But he being aware of their devices, withstood and baffled them all, as long as he continued at *Jerusalem*. But when he went from thence to the *Persian Court*, *Eliashib* the High-Priest, (b) was prevailed with (as being one of those that was of that confederacy and alliance with *Tobiah*) to allow and provide for him lodgings within the Temple itself; In order whereto, he remov'd *the Meat-offerings, the Frankincense, and the Vessels, and the Tithes of the Corn, the new Wine, and the Oil, (which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the Singers, and the Porters) and the Offerings of the Priests*, out of the Chambers where they used to be laid, and out of them made one large apartment for the reception of this Heathen Stranger. It is doubted by some, whether this *Eliashib* were *Eliashib* the High-Priest, or only another Priest of that name. That which raiseth the doubt is, he is named in the Text, where this is related of him, by the title only of Priest, and is there said to have the oversight of the Chambers of the House of God, from whence it is argued, that he was only Chamberlain of the Temple, and not the High-Priest, who was above such an Office. But the oversight of the Chambers of the House of God may import the whole Government of the Temple, which belonged to the High-Priest only, and it is not to be conceived, how any one that was less than absolute Governor of the whole Temple, could make so great an innovation in it. Besides, *Eliashib* the High-Priest hath no Character in Scripture, with which such a procedure can be said to be inconsistent. By what is said in the Book of *Ezra* (chap. x. 18.) it appears, the Pontifical

(a) Nehemiah vi. 17, 18, 19.

(b) Nehemiah xiii. 4.

Family was in his time grown very corrupt. And no act of his is mentioned either in *Ezra* or *Nebemiab*, excepting only his putting to his helping hand in the repairing of the walls of *Jerusalem*. Had he done any thing else worthy of memory in the reforming of what was amiss, either in Church or State, in the times either of *Ezra* or *Nebemiab*, it may be presumed mention would have been made of it in the Books written by them. The silence which is of him in both these Books, as to any good act done by him, is a sufficient proof, that there was none such to be recorded of him. For the High-Priest being the head of the *Jewish* Church, had he born any part with these two good men, when they laboured so much to reform that Church, it's utterly improbable, that it could have been passed over in their writings, wherein they give an account of what was done in that Reformation. What *Jeshua* his Grandfather did in concurrence with *Zerubbabel* the Governor, and *Haggai* and *Zechariah* the Prophets, in the first resettling of the Church and State of the *Jews*, after their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, (c) is all recorded in Scripture, and had *Eliashib* done any such thing in concurrence with *Ezra* and *Nebemiab*, we may take it for certain, it would have been recorded there also. Putting all this together, it appears most likely that it was *Eliashib* the High-Priest, who was the Author of this great profanation of the House of God. What was done herein, the text tells us, *Nebemiab* immediately understood, as soon as he came back again to *Jerusalem*, and he did immediately set himself to reform it. For over-ruling what the High-Priest had ordered to be done herein, by the Authority which he had as Governor, he commanded all the Household-stuff of *Tobiah* to be cast out, and the Chambers to be again cleansed and restored to their former use.

The reading of the Law to the people (d) having

(c) *Ezra* iii. iv. and v. *Haggai* i. and ii. *Zechariah* iii. (d) *Nebemiah* viii.

been settled by *Nebemiab*, so as to be constantly carried on at certain stated times ever since it was begun under his Government by *Ezra* (perchance from that very beginning on every Sabbath-day) when in the Course of their Lessons they came to the 23d Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where it is commanded, that *a Moabite or an Ammonite should not come into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth Generation for ever*, (e) *Nebemiab* taking an handle from hence separated all the mixt multitude from the rest of the People, that thereby it might be known with whom a true *Israelite* might lawfully marry. For neither this Law, nor any other of the like nature, is to be understood to exclude any one, of what Nation soever he were, from entering into the Congregation as a Profelyte, and becoming a member of their Church, that would be converted thereto; neither did any of the *Jews* ever so interpret it. For they freely received all into their Religion, that would embrace it, and immediately on their Conversion admitted them to all the rites, parts and privileges of it, and treated them in all respects in the same manner as true *Israelites*, excepting only in the Case of Marriage. And therefore this phrase (f) in the Text, *of not entering into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth Generation*, must be understood to include no more than a prohibition not to be married thereinto till then, and thus all the Jewish Doctors expound it. For their doctrine as to the case of their marrying with such as were not of their Nation, is stated by them in manner as followeth.

(g) None of the House of *Israel* of either sex were to enter into marriage with any *Gentiles* of what Nation soever, unless they were first converted to their Religion, and became entire Profelytes to it. And when they were become thus thorough Profelytes, they were not all immediately to be admitted to this

(e) Chap. xiii. 1, 2, 3.
monides in *Iffure Biah*.

(f) Deuter. xxiii. 3.

(g) Mai-

Privilege of making inter-marriages with them. For some were barred wholly from it for ever, others only in part, and some only for a limited time. Of the first sort, were all of the seven Nations of the *Canaanites* mentioned in *Deuteronomy* chap. vii. Of the second sort, were the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites*, whose Males they hold were excluded for ever, but not their Females. For the *Hebrew* Text naming an *Ammonite*, and a *Moabite*, in the Masculine gender only, they understand it only of the Males, and not of the Females. And this exception they make for the sake of *Ruth*. For she, tho' a *Moabitish* woman, had been married to two Husbands of the House of *Israel*, the last of which was *Boaz*, of whom *David* was descended by her. And of the third sort (*b*) were the *Edomites* and the *Egyptians*, with whom they might not marry till the third generation. With all others, who were not of the three excepted sorts, they (*i*) might freely make inter-marriages, whenever they became thorough Profelytes to their Religion. But at present (*k*) it being not to be known who is an *Edomite*, who an *Ammonite*, or a *Moabite*, or who an *Egyptian* of the race of the *Egyptians* then mentioned in the Text, by reason of the Confusions which have since happened of all Nations with each other, they hold this prohibition to have been long since out of date, and that now any *Gentile* as soon as Profelyted to their Religion, may immediately be admitted to make inter-marriages with them. In interpreting the Exclusion of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* in the Text to be for ever, they seem to exceed the prohibition of the Law therein delivered. For there (*i. e.* *Deut.* xxiii. 3.) it is extended only to the tenth Generation. The Words are, *Even to the tenth Generation shall they not enter into the Congregation of the Lord for ever.* The meaning of which seems plainly to be,

(*b*) *Deuter.* xxiii. 8. (*i*) *A Sister of David's married Ithra an Ishmaelite, by whom she was mother of Amasa, Captain of the Host of Israel.* (*k*) *Maimonides in Issure Biah.*

that this should be observed as a Law for ever, that an *Ammonite* or a *Moabite* was not to be admitted into the Congregation of *Israel*, so as to be capable of making marriages with them, till the tenth Generation after their becoming Profelytes to the Jewish Religion. But ten Generations and for ever being both in the same Text, and within the same prohibiting clause, they interpret the former expression by the latter, and will have it, that so long a Prohibition as that of ten Generations, signifieth therein tantamount to for ever, and they ground this chiefly upon the Text of *Nehemiah*, which we are now treating of. For here in the recital of this Law, the prohibition is said to be *for ever*, without the limitation of ten Generations. But the words of *Nehemiah* are plainly an imperfect quotation of what is in the Law, and seem to intend no more by that recital, than to send us to the place in the Original Text of the Law, where it is to be perfectly found. And in all Laws in the world, the words of the Original Text are to be depended upon, for the intention of the Lawgiver, before any quotations of them, by whomsoever made.

Among other corruptions, that grew up during the absence of *Nehemiah*, one especially to be taken notice of (*l*) was, the neglect of the carrying on of the daily service of the House of God, in such manner as it ought. For the Tithes, which were to maintain the Ministers of the Temple in their Offices and Stations, being either embezzled by the High-Priest, and other Rulers of the Temple under him, or else substracted by the Laity, and not paid at all, for want of them the *Levites* and Singers were driven from the Temple, every one to his own home, there to seek for a subsistence some other way. This abuse the Governor, whose piety led him always to attend the publick worship, could not be long without taking notice of, and when he had observed it, and tho-

(*l*) *Nehemiah* xiii. 10 — 14. *Malachi* iii. 8 — 13.

roughly informed himself of the cause, he soon provided very effectually for its remedy. For he forthwith made those dues to be again brought into the Treasuries of the Temple, and forced every man faithfully and fully to pay them, whereby a maintenance being again provided for those that attended the service of the House of God, all was there again restored to its pristine order. And he also took care, (*m*) that the Sabbath should be duly observed, and made many good orders for the preventing of the profanation of it, and caused them all to be effectually put in Execution. But tho' all these things are mentioned in one Chapter, they were not all done at one time, but the good man brought them about as occasions were administred, and as he saw opportunities best served for the successful effecting of them.

In this same year, in which we suppose *Nebemiah* came back again to his Government of *Judea* from the *Persian* Court, that is (*n*) in the first year of the eighty eighth Olympiad, was born *Plato* the famous *Athenian* Philosopher, who came nearest to the truth in divine Matters of any of the *Heathens*. For he having in his Travels into the East, where he went for his improvement in knowledge, conversed with the *Jews*, and (*o*) gotten some insight into the writings of *Moses*, and their other sacred Books, he learned many things from them, which others of his Profession could not attain unto; and therefore he is said (*p*) by *Numenius* to be none other than *Moses* speaking *Greek*, and (*q*) many of the ancient Fathers speak of him to the same purpose.

In the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, (*r*) the plague broke out again at *Athens*, and destroyed great numbers of their people. This with the other Plague, that hap-

Anno 426.
Artaxerxes 39.

(*m*) Nehemiah xiii. 15—23, (*n*) Diogenes Laertius in vita Platonis. (*o*) Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2. Aristobulus apud Eusebium de Præparatione Evangelica. (*p*) Clem. Alexandr. Strom. 1. Suidas in Νεμίνι. (*q*) Vide Menagii observationes ad tertium Librum Diogenis Laertii Segm. 6. (*r*) Thucydides lib. 3.

opened four years before, having much exhausted that City of its Inhabitants, for the better replenishing of it again, (s) a new Law was made to allow every man there to marry two wives. From the time of *Cecrops*, who was the first Planter of *Attica*, and the founder of the City of *Athens* in it, no such thing as Polygamy was there ever known, or was any man allowed to have any more than one wife, both their Law and their Usage till now being contrary thereto. But from this time it was allowed for the cause which I have mentioned, and *Socrates* the Philosopher was one of the first that made use of the Privilege of it, being then forty three years old. For he was born in the last year of the seventy seventh Olympiad, (which was the year 469 before Christ.) For to *Xantippe* his former wife, he took another called *Myrto*, and all the benefit he had by it, was to have two scolds, instead of one, to exercise his patience. (t) As long as they disagreed, they were continually scolding, brawling, or fighting with each other; and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often (u) fell on him with their fists, as well as with their tongues, and beat him soundly. And this was a very just punishment upon him, for giving Countenance, by his practice, to so unnatural and mischievous a usage. For every where more males than females being born into the world, this sufficiently proves that God and Nature never intended any more than one woman for one man, and they certainly act contrary to the Laws of both, that have more than one to wife at the same time. Altho' the supreme Lawgiver dispensed with the Children of *Israel* in this case, this is no rule for others to act by.

In the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* War, *Artaxerxes* (x) sent an Ambassador called *Artaphernes* to the *Lacedæmonians*, with letters written in the *Assyrian* Language,

Anno 425.
Artaxerxes 40.

(s) Athenæus lib. 13. Diogenes Laertius in Socrate. (t) Diogenes Laertius ibid. (u) Porphyrius apud Theodoretum. (x) Thucydides lib. 4.

wherein among other things he tells them that several Ambassadors had come to him from them, but with Messages so differing, that he could not learn from them what it was that they would have; and that therefore he had sent this *Persian* to them, to let them know, that if they had any thing to propose to him, they should on his return send with him to his Court some, by whom he might clearly understand what their mind was. But this Ambassador being got on in his way as far as *Eion*, on the River *Strymon* in *Thracia*, he was there taken Prisoner about the end of the year, by one of the Admirals of the *Athenian* Fleet, who sent him to *Athens*, where the *Athenians* treated him with much kindness and respect, thereby the better to reconcile to them the favour of the *Persian* King.

And the next year after, as soon as the Seas were safely passable, they (y) sent him back in a Ship of their own at the publick charges, and appointed some of their Citizens to go with him as Ambassadors from them to the King; but when they were landed at *Ephesus*, in order to this journey, they there understood that *Artaxerxes* was lately dead, whereon the Ambassadors proceeded no farther, but having there dismissed *Artaphernes*, returned again to *Athens*.

Anno 424.
Artaxerxes 41.

Artaxerxes died within three Months after the beginning of the forty-first year of his reign, and was (z) succeeded in his Kingdom by *Xerxes*, the only son that he had by his Queen. But by his Concubines he had seventeen others, among whom were *Sogdianus*, (by *Ctesias* called *Secundianus*) *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having made himself drunk at one of their Festivals, and thereon being retired to sleep it out in his Bed-Chamber, *Sogdianus* took the advantage of it by the help and treachery of *Pharnacyas* one of *Xerxes's* Eunuchs then to fall upon him, and

(y) Thucydides lib. 4. (z) Ctesias. Diodorus Sic. lib. 12. p. 319 and p. 322.

slew him after he had reigned only forty-five days, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. And as soon as he was on the Throne, he put to death *Bagorazus* the faithfullest of his Father's Eunuchs. *Artaxerxes* being dead, and his Queen the Mother of *Xerxes* dying also the same day, *Bagorazus* undertook the care of their Funeral, and carried both their Corps to the accustomed burial-place of the Royal Family in *Persia*. But on his return *Sogdianus* being on the Throne, he was very ill received by him, on the account of some former Quarrel, that had been between them in his Father's lifetime; in revenge whereof a little after taking pretence from something which he found fault with in the management of his Father's Funeral, he caused him to be stoned to death; by which two murders, that of his Brother *Xerxes*, and this of the faithful Eunuch, having made himself very odious to the Army, as well as the Nobility, he soon found that he sat very unsafe upon the Throne, which he had so wickedly gotten possession of. Whereon growing jealous and suspicious, lest some of his Brothers should serve him, as he had served *Xerxes*, and fearing *Ocbus*, whom his Father had made Governor of *Hyrcania*, more than all the rest, he sent for him to come to Court, with intention to rid himself of him by putting him to death. But *Ocbus* perceiving what his designs were, under several pretences from time to time delayed his coming, till at length having got together a powerful Army, he marched against him for the revenging (as he declared) the death of his Brother *Xerxes*; whereon many of the Nobility, and several Governors of Provinces, who were disgusted with the cruelty and mismanagement of *Sogdianus*, revolted from him, and went over to *Ocbus*, and having put the Royal *Tiara* upon his head declared him King. *Sogdianus* seeing himself thus deserted, fell into great fear of the power of his Brother, and having less courage to defend what he had wickedly done, than he had to commit it, was prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the wisest and best of his friends,

friends, to come to a Treaty with *Ocbus*, who having hereby gotten him into his power, cast him into Ashes, and there made him die a most cruel death. This (a) was one of the punishments of the *Persians*, whereby great Criminals among them were put to death. The manner of it is described in the thirteenth Chapter of the second Book of the *Maccabees* to be thus. An high Tower being filled a great way up with Ashes, the Criminal was from the Top thrown down headlong into them, and there had the Ashes by a wheel continually stirred up, and raised about him, till he was suffocated by them and died. And thus this wicked Prince with his Life lost his Empire, after he had held it only six months and fifteen days.

Sogdianus being thus dispatched, *Ocbus* obtained the Kingdom, and (b) as soon as he was settled in it, he changed his name, taking that of *Darius* instead of *Ocbus*, and is the same whom Historians call *Darius Nothus*. He reigned nineteen years, and is in *Ptolemy's* Canon placed as the next immediate Successor of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, according to the method of that Canon, which always reckons to the Predecessor the whole last year in which he died, and placeth him as the next Successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the year following (as hath been already observed;) and both the Reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* making but eight months, and these not reaching to the end of the year in which *Artaxerxes* died, their reigns in that Canon are cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, at if he had been his immediate Successor.

But it not being the usage of the *Persian* Kings, on their accession to the throne, to displace any of the Governors of Provinces, unless they were such as they had just reason to mistrust, *Nebemiah*, during all

(a) Concerning the first invention of this Punishment, see *Valerius Maximus*, lib. 9. cap. 2. Exter. § 6. (b) *Ctesias*. *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 12. p. 321. *Ptol. Can.*

these Revolutions in the Empire, continued still in his Government of *Judea*, and went on with the same zeal and vigour to reform it in all things, relating either to Church or State, and to correct and set all at rights, that was amiss in either of them.

Arsites seeing how *Sogdianus* had supplanted *Xerxes*, and *Ocbus Sogdianus*, thought to do the same with *Ocbus*. And therefore, tho' he was his Brother by the same Mother as well as by the same Father, (c) rebelled against him, and *Artypbius* the son of *Megabyzus* joined with him in this Revolt. *Ocbus*, now called *Darius*, sent against *Artypbius*, *Artasyras* one of his Generals, while he with another Army marched against *Arsites*. *Artypbius* vanquished his Adversary in two Battles by the help of his *Grecian* Mercenaries. But these being bribed over to *Artasyras*, he lost the third Battle, and thereby being reduced to the utmost difficulty, he surrender'd, on hopes given him of mercy, into the hands of *Darius*, who would immediately have put him to death, but that he was dissuaded from it by *Parysatis* his Queen. She was one of the daughters of *Artaxerxes* his Father by another Mother, and a very subtle crafty woman, and whose Counsel and Advice he chiefly depended upon in the management of all his affairs. Her advice on the present occasion was to treat *Artypbius* with all manner of Clemency, that by such usage of a Rebel Servant, he might the better encourage his Rebel Brother to hope for the same favour, and cast himself upon his mercy, and that if he could this way decoy him into his power, he might then deal with both as he should think fit. *Darius* following this advice, had that success in it which was propos'd. For *Arsites* being informed with what Clemency *Artypbius* was treated, thought he as a Brother might be favoured much more; and therefore coming to Terms with the King, yielded himself unto him. But when he had thus got him

(c) Ctesias.

into his power, he cast both him and *Artaybius* into the Ashes, and there made them both miserably perish. *Darius* was much inclined to have spared *Arsites*, but he was over-ruled herein by the advice of *Parysatis*, who pressed it upon him, that he could no otherways provide for his own safety, but by the death of this Rebel. And the force of this Argument prevailed with him, though with great difficulty, to consent to it. They being both born of the same Mother, this was the cause of the tenderness which he had for him.

He also put to death *Pharnacyas* the Eunuch, for the hand which he had in the death of *Xerxes*; and *Monasthenes* another Eunuch, who was the chief confidant of *Sogdianus*, and also concerned with him in his Treachery against his Brother, was forced to kill himself to avoid the punishment of a much severer death, which was intended for him. But all these executions did not set *Darius* at quiet upon his Throne. For many other troubles were raised against him afterwards.

The chiefest and the most dangerous of them was (d) the Rebellion of *Pisuthnes*, who being made Governor of *Lydia* did there set up for himself, and cast off his obedience to the King; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the confidence which he placed in an Army of mercenary *Greeks*, whom he had got together into his service under the command of *Lycon* an *Athenian*. Against him *Darius* sent *Tissaphernes* with an army to suppress the Rebel, and also with a Commission to be Governor of *Lydia* in his stead. *Tissaphernes*, being a very crafty and insidious Man, finds ways to get within *Pisuthnes's* *Grecian* Mercenaries, and having with large gifts and larger promises corrupted both them and their General to change sides, they deserted *Pisuthnes* and went over to *Tissaphernes*; whereby *Pisuthnes* being left too weak any longer to carry on

Anno 414. Darius Nothus 10.

(d) Ctesias.

his designs, was persuaded, on promises made him of pardon, to trust to them, and surrender himself; but as soon as he was brought to the King he caused him to be cast into the Ashes, and there perish in the same manner, as had been the fate of the other Rebels before him. However this did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised in those parts; for (e) *Amorgas* his Son still continued in arms with the remaining part of his Army, and for about two years after infested the maritime Provinces of Lesser *Asia*, till at length being taken Prisoner by the *Peloponnesians* at *Iasus* a City of *Ionian*, he was delivered to *Tissaphernes*, and put to death.

The next disturbance which *Darius* had, (f) was from *Artoxares* the chief of the Eunuchs. He had three Eunuchs by whose ministry he governed all the Affairs of his Empire, these were *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous*; and next *Parysatis* his Queen he placed his greatest confidence in them, and trusted to their counsel and advice above all others, in whatsoever he did through all the emergencies of the Government. By which height of Authority *Artoxares* being intoxicated, from being chief minister he at length began to dream of making himself chief Governor of the Empire, and laid designs of cutting off *Darius*, and seizing the Throne for himself. And that his being an Eunuch might be no obstacle to him herein, he married a Wife, and wore an artificial beard, that he might be thought to be no Eunuch. But his Wife knowing the whole Plot, and being perchance weary of an Husband, whom she found to be truly an Eunuch in her Bed, whatsoever he pretended to be out of it, discovered all to the King, whereon he was taken into custody, and delivered over into the hands of *Parysatis*, who caused him to be put to death in such manner as would best satiate her cruelty, in which she exceeded all Women living.

(e) Thucydides lib. 8.

(f) Ctesias.

But the greatest misfortune that befel *Darius* during all his reign, was the (g) Revolt of *Egypt*, which happened in the same year with the revolt of *Pisutknes*. For altho' *Darius* again mastered the latter of these Rebellions, he never could the other. But the whole Province of *Egypt*, which was one of the best of the whole *Persian* Empire, was lost unto him all the remaining part of his reign, as it also was to his Successors, 'till it was again reduced by *Ochus*, as will be hereafter related. For the *Egyptians* being weary of the *Persian* yoke, *Amyrtaeus Saites* took the advantage of it, and sallied out of his Fens, where he had reigned ever since the suppression of *Inarus's* revolt, and being joined by the other *Egyptians*, soon drove the *Persians* out of the Country, and made himself King of all *Egypt*, and reigned there six years.

About this time happened at *Athens* the condemnation of *Diagoras* the *Melian*. He having settled in that City, and there (b) taught Atheism, the *Athenians* prosecuted him for it. But by flying out of that Country he escaped the punishment of death, which was intended for him, altho' not the sentence. For the *Athenians* having in his absence condemned him for his impious doctrine, did set a price upon his head, and decreed the reward of a Talent to whosoever should kill him, wheresoever he should be found. And about twenty years before (i) they had proceeded against *Protagoras* another Philosopher with the like severity, for only doubting of the Being of a God. For in the beginning of one of his Books he having written thus, (*Of the Gods I know nothing, neither that they are, nor that they are not. For there are many things that hinder, the blindness of our understanding, and the shortness of human life*) the

(g) Eusebius in Chronico. (b) Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2. Aristophanes in Avibus. Hesychius Milesius. (i) Diogenes Laertius in Protagora. Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2. Cicero de Natura Deorum lib. 1.

Athenians would not endure so much as the raising of a doubt about this matter, but calling in all his Books by the common Criers of their City, they caused them all publickly to be burnt with infamy, and banished the Author out of their Territories for ever. Both these had been the Scholars of *Democritus* the first founder of the Atomical Philosophy, which is indeed wholly an Atheistical Scheme. For tho' it allows the Being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect. For by denying the Power of God to create the world, and the Providence of God to govern the world, and the Justice of God to judge the world, they do the same in effect, as if they had denied his Being. But this they durst not openly do even among the Heathens for fear of punishment; the greater shame is it to us, who in a Christian state permit so many impious Wretches to do this thing among us, with a free Liberty and absolute Impunity.

Anno 413. Darius Nothus 11. *Eliafbib* the High-Priest of the *Jews* died in the eleventh year of *Darius Nothus*, after he had held that Pontificate forty years, and (k) was succeeded in it by *Joiada* his son.

At this time (l) *Tissaphernes* was Governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and (l) *Pharnabazus* of the *Hellespont* for King *Darius*, who being Men of great craft, and also of great application for the prosecuting the interest of their Prince, were not wanting to make the best advantage they could of the Divisions of the *Greeks*, for the promoting of the welfare of the *Persian* Empire. The *Peloponnesian* war had now been carried on between the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Athenians* to the twentieth year. The Policy practised herein by these two *Persians* was, sometimes to help one and sometimes the other, that the matter being equally balanced

(k) Nehemiah xii. Josephus lib. 11. c. 7. Chronicon Alexandrinum. (l) Diodorus Siculus lib. 13. Ctesias. Thucydides lib. 8. Plutarchus in Alcibiade.

between them, neither might by suppressing the other be at leisure to trouble them, who had so long been the common enemy of both. And therefore at this time the *Athenians* seeming to them to have the ascendant over the other in the fortune of the war, especially on the *Asian* Coasts, and having there much provoked them by the auxiliaries, which they had sent under the command of *Lycon* for the aiding and supporting of *Pisutbues* in his Revolt, they entered into an alliance with the *Lacedæmonians* against them. This had been treated of with them by *Tissaphernes* the former year, but now was by the consent of both Governors agreed to, whereby the *Persians* were obliged to furnish the *Lacedæmonians* with large subsidies for the payment of their Fleet, and the *Lacedæmonians* in consideration hereof yielded, that the *Persian* King should have all those Countries and Cities, which he or his Ancestors had at any time before the date of the Treaty been possessed of. But when this Treaty came to be examined in a full assembly of the *Lacedæmonians*, the concessions made in it to the King of *Persia* were thought too large, as including all the Islands of the *Egean* Sea, and also all those Countries which *Xerxes* had taken possession of on this side the *Hellepont*, and therefore the ratification of them was denied. And by this time the *Athenians* wanting the balance on their side to make them bear even with their adversaries, *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* upon this Provocation carried over their assistance to them; and altho' the next year, on an Emendation made in the yielding Clause by limiting of it to the *Asian* Provinces, the Treaty was ratified and confirmed by the *Lacedæmonians*, yet by several underhand and indirect practices they rather assisted the *Athenians*, than them, especially in defrauding their Fleet of the subsidies they promised to pay them, and by sending back *Alcibiades* again to the *Athenians*, which turned the whole fate of the war. And thus they continued either openly or covertly, sometimes to help one, and sometimes to help the other

other, in order to weaken and waste both, till *Cyrus* came to be chief Governor of the *Asian* Provinces.

Amyrtæus having settled himself in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, by a total expulsion of the *Per-*
Anno 410. Da- *sians* out of that Country, (m) made
rius Nothus 14. great preparations to follow them into
Phœnicia, and had the *Arabians* in Confederacy with
 him for this purpose. Of which the King of *Persia*
 having received advice, the Fleet with which he had
 stipulated to help the *Lacedæmonians*, was recalled to
 defend his own Territories. But the war seems not to
 have broken out there till the year following.

In the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* ended the first
 seven weeks of the seventy weeks of
Anno 409. Da- *Daniel's* Prophecy. For then the resto-
rius Nothus 15. ration of the Church and State of the
Jews in *Jerusalem* and *Judæa* was fully finished, in that
 last Act of Reformation, which is recorded in the 13th
 Chapter of *Nehemiah*, from the 23d verse to the end of
 the Chapter, just forty-nine years after it had been first
 began by *Ezra* in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longi-*
manus. And this reformation was the removal of all
 unlawful marriages from among the people. For al-
 though the Law (n) strictly forbade them to make inter-
 marriages with any foreign Nation, either by giving
 their daughters to them for wives, or by taking their
 daughters to themselves, yet since their return from the
Babylonish Captivity they had given little regard hereto,
 but took to them wives of all the Nations round about
 them, with whom God had strictly commanded them
 not to make any alliances. It seems most likely, that
 while they were mixed with the strange Nations of those
 Countries of the East, into which they were carried
 captive by the *Babylonians*, they there first made these
 strange marriages, and from thence brought with
 them this forbidden usage on their return. *Ezra* (o)

(m) Diodorus Siculus lib. 13. p. 335.
 Deut. vii. 3.

(o) Ezra ix. x.

(n) Exod. xxxiv. 16.

found it spread among them on his first coming to *Jerusalem*, and altho' for a while he had brought it to a thorough reformation, yet by the time that *Nebemiah* came to succeed him (p) the Corruption was grown up again; and although he did then again reform it, and made all the people enter into a Covenant with God, and seal it with an Oath and a Curse upon themselves strictly to observe the rule of God's Law herein for the future, and a little after his last return to his Government, he had made another reformation herein, (q) by separating from *Israel* all the mix'd multitude, yet this did not wholly root out the evil, but it grew up again, and (r) at length came to such an height, that the Pontifical House, which of all others ought to have been kept the clearest from all such impure Commixtures, was polluted therewith. For one of the Sons of *Joiada the High-Priest*, whom (s) *Josephus* calls *Manasseh*, had married the daughter of *Sanballat the Horonite*; whereby an ill example being given for the breach of the Law, by such as were most concerned to see to the observance of it, *Nebemiah* came in with the utmost stretch of his power to remedy this enormity, and forced all who had taken such strange wives forthwith to part with them, or depart the Country; whereon *Manasseh* being unwilling to quit his wife, fled to *Samaria*; and many others, who being in the same case with him were also of the same mind, accompanied him thither, and there settled under the protection of *Sanballat*, who was the Governor of the place.

It may be here objected, that I put the last reformation of *Nebemiah* too low, and the marriage of *Manasseh* too high, and therefore it will be necessary, before I proceed any farther, to clear these two particulars.

As to the first of these, this last act of *Nebemiah's* reformation, whereby he purged the Land of such as

(p) *Nehemiah* x. 30. (q) *Nehemiah* xiii. 3. (r) *Nehemiah* xiii. 23 — 31. (s) *Antiq. lib.* 11. c. 7.

would not be obedient to the Law of God in the case of their wives, *Nehemiah* himself tells us, it was (t) while *Joiada* was High-Priest at *Jerusalem*. But according (u) to the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (which gives us (x) the truest account of the Succession of the High-Priests of the *Jews*, from the Captivity of *Babylon* to the reign of the *Seleucian Kings*) *Joiada* succeeded in the High-Priesthood on the death of *Eliashib* his Father, only four years before this year in which I place this act of reformation. And therefore higher than this, unless in one of these four years, it cannot be placed within the time of *Joiada's* High-Priesthood. And that which determines me to place it in the fifth year of that Priesthood, rather than in any of the four preceding, is the Prophecy of *Daniel's* seventy weeks. For by that Prophecy, from the going forth of the Decree to restore and build *Jerusalem* (that is to restore and build up again the Church and State of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* by a thorough reformation of both) to the end of that reformation, were to be seven of those weeks, that is forty nine years. And these forty nine years beginning in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when this Decree was granted to *Ezra*, they must end in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* his son, which was the fifth year of the High-Priesthood of *Joiada*, and therefore here this Reformation must have had its ending also. And since the expulsion of *Manasseh*, with such others with him as would not be reformed, is the last act which is mentioned to have been done of this Reformation in those very Scriptures, which are professedly written to give us an account of the whole of it, what is more reasonable, than to infer, that in this Act it had its conclusion? and

(t) *Nehemiah* xiii. 28. (u) The number of years, which the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* ascribes to each High-Priest, brings down the first of *Joiada* to that year, which is the eleventh of *Darius Nothus* in the Canon of *Ptolemy*. (x) It best agreeth both with the Scripture and the profane Histories of those times.

that therefore this Act must be there placed, where that Reformation ended, that is forty nine years after it had its beginning, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, which I have mentioned. And from the 7th of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the fifteenth of *Darius Notbus*, were just forty nine years. If any one shall say, that in the Text of *Nehemiah* (Chap. xiii. 28.) the word *High-Priest* is put in apposition with *Eliashib*, and not with *Joiada*, and that therefore this last Act of *Nehemiah's* Reformation was in the High-Priesthood of *Eliashib*, and not in that of *Joiada* his son; my answer to it is, that the *Hebrew* Original cannot bear this Interpretation. For it having been the usage of the *Jews*, as well as of all other Nations of the East, for the better distinguishing of Persons, to add the name of the Father to that of the son, in the same manner as was lately practised by the *Welsh*, and still is among the *Irish*, these words in the Text, *Joiada Ben Eliashib*, i. e. *Joiada the son of Eliashib*, all together make but one name of the same person, and therefore the word High-Priest, which followeth, can be put in apposition with nothing but the whole of it.

As to the second objection, that I place the marriage of *Manasseh* too high, my answer is, I place it there where the Scriptures place it, that is in the High-Priesthood of *Joiada*. *Josephus* indeed placeth this marriage in the High-Priesthood of *Jaddua* the Grandson of *Joiada*, and saith, that he who contracted it, was the Brother of *Jaddua*, and the son of *Johanan*. To reconcile this matter, some fancy that there were two *Sanballats*, the first the *Sanballat* of the Holy Scriptures, and the other the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*, and that there were two marriages contracted by two different Persons, sons of two different High-Priests of the *Jews*, with two different women, who were each daughters of two different *Sanballats*, the first the daughter of the *Sanballat* of the Scriptures, and the other the daughter of the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*, and that he that married the

first of them was a son of *Joiada*, but that he that married the second of them was the son of *Jobanan*, and Brother of *Jaddua*. But as I have shewn before, that there could be but one *Sanballat*, and that the *Sanballat* of *Josephus* was the same with the *Sanballat* of the Holy Scriptures, but that *Josephus* by a mistake in his Chronology placed him in the time of *Darius Codomannus*, whereas he should have placed him in the time of *Darius Notus*; So it must follow from hence, that he was one and the same High-Priest's Son, that married his daughter. For each who is said to have contracted this marriage, being the son of an High-Priest of the *Jews*, each marrying the daughter of a *Sanballat* Governor of *Samaria*, and each being expelled *Jerusalem* for it, these three Characters sufficiently prove both to be the same person. The Scriptures indeed give him no name, but *Josephus* calls him *Manasseb*, and therefore I call him so too. The Question therefore being reduced to this, whether this marriage is to be placed in the High-Priesthood of *Joiada*, and the reign of *Darius Notus*, where the Scriptures place it, or else in the High-Priesthood of *Jaddua*, and the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, where *Josephus* placeth it; I hope there will be no difficulty in determining which authority to follow.

The war being (y) carried on between the *Egyptians* and the *Persians*, and each contending to enlarge and strengthen their Barrier on the Borders, it seems most likely that *Darius* on this occasion came in person into *Phœnicia*, and that then it was, that *Sanballat* attending him, so far insinuated himself into his favour, (z) as to obtain from him a grant, to build on Mount *Gerizim* near *Samaria* a Temple like that at *Jerusalem*, and to make *Manasseb* his Son-in-law High-Priest of it; and that herein all that had its foundation, which *Josephus* by mistaking the time attributes to *Darius Codomannus* and *Alexander the*

(y) Diodorus Siculus lib. 13. p. 355. (z) Josephus lib. 13. c. 8. Great.

Great. And perchance this war might some time after produce that siege of *Gaza*, at (a) which *Sanballat* died: For even at this time he must have been a very old man. *Gaza* being the common inlet between *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, for the passing of each to other, the possession of it was of great importance on either side. If held by the *Egyptians*, it would be a Gate to let them in to ravage *Judæa*, *Phœnicia* and *Syria*; and if by the *Persians*, it would be a strong barrier to keep them out, and also be a like Gate for the passage of the *Persian* Forces into *Egypt*. And therefore if *Amyrtaeus* had now possessed himself of this important post, it concerned the King of *Persia* to do his utmost to recover it. For without it he could neither defend the Territories which he had remaining in those parts, nor pass into *Egypt* to recover what he had there lost. For he that was master of this pass, could obstruct the passage either way. And therefore (b) *Alexander* himself after his victory at *Iffus*, could not pass into *Egypt* till he had taken it.

Sanballat having built this Temple, and made *Manasseh* High-Priest of it, *Samaria* thenceforth became (c) the common Refuge and Asylum of the refractory *Jews*; so that if any among them were found guilty of violating the Law, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the Sabbath, or the like, and were called to an account for it, they fled to the *Samaritans*, and there found reception, by which means it came to pass, that after some time the greatest part of that people were made up of Apostate *Jews*, and their descendants. The first of these *Samaritans* were the *Cutbeans*, and such others of the Eastern Nations, as *Eserhaddon* planted there after the deportation of the *Israelites*. But when these Apostate *Jews* flocked to them, they became a mungrel sort of People made up of both. But the mixing of so many *Jews* among

(a) Josephus *ibid.* (b) Q. Curtius lib. 4. cap. 6. Plutarchus in *Alexandro*, Arrian. lib. 2. Edit. Blancard. p. 150. (c) Josephus *Antiq.* lib. 11. c. 8.

them, soon made a change in their Religion. For whereas they had hitherto (*d*) worshipped the God of *Israel* only in conjunction with their other Gods, that is the Gods of those Nations of the East from whence they came; after a Temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the same manner as at *Jerusalem*, and the Book of the Law of *Moses* was brought to *Samaria*, and there publicly read to them, they soon (*e*) left off worshipping their false Gods, and conformed themselves wholly to the worship of the true God, according to the rule which was in that Book prescribed to them, and were more exact in it (as (*f*) some of the Jewish Doctors acknowledge) than the *Jews* themselves. However the *Jews* looking on them as Apostates, hated them above all the Nations of the Earth, so as (*g*) to avoid all manner of Converse and Communication with them. This hatred first began from the opposition which the *Samaritans* made against them, on their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, both in their rebuilding of the Temple, and their repairing of the Walls of *Jerusalem*, of which an account hath been above given; and it was afterwards much increased by this Apostacy of *Manasseh*, and those who joined with him in it, and by their erecting hereon an Altar, and a Temple, in opposition to theirs at *Jerusalem*. And all others, who at any time after fled from *Jerusalem*, for the violating of the Law, always finding reception among them, this continually farther added to the rancour which the *Jews* had entertained against them, till at length it grew to that height, that the *Jews* published a Curse and an Anathema against them, the bitterest that ever was denounced against any People. For thereby they forbade all manner of Communication

(*d*) 2 Kings xvii. (*e*) Epiphanius Hær. 9. Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ § 16. (*f*) Maimonides in Tractatum Mishnicum Beracoth, c. 8 § 8. Obadiah Bartenora in eundem Tractatum, cap. 7. § 1. (*g*) John iv. 9.

with them, declared all the fruits and products of their Land, and every thing else of theirs, which was either eaten or drunk among them, to be as swines flesh, and prohibited all of their Nation ever to taste thereof, and also excluded all of that people from being ever received as Profelytes to their Religion. And in the last place proceeded so far as even to the barring of them for ever from having any portion in the Resurrection of the dead to eternal life, as if this also were in their power. This Curse, they say, was first denounced against them by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, on the opposition which they gave them in the rebuilding of the Temple, and by them transmitted to the *Jews* of *Babylon*, where it being also ratified and confirmed, it became thereby the Act and Sentence of the whole Jewish Church. This account is given of it (*b*) in *Pirke R. Eliezer*, which is (*i*) reputed one of the ancientest of their Books. And ever since they say it hath been renewed, and also by adding curse upon curse continually aggravated among them. But it is not likely that this was done by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua* in the manner as related by *R. Eliezer*. If it were done at all, it was done afterwards, when the hatred of the *Jews* against them was grown to the utmost height from the causes mentioned. But thus much is certain, that for many ages past, the conduct of the *Jews* towards the *Samaritans* hath been according to the tenour of this Anathema, they constantly refusing all manner of Converse or Communication with them, and so it was even in our Saviour's time. For why else should the woman of *Samaria* ask our Saviour, *How is it that thou being a Jew askest drink of me who am a woman of Samaria?* but that it was even then forbidden among the *Jews*,

(*b*) Cap. 38. & vide animadversiones Vorstii ad locum prædictum p. 226—230. Lightfoot vol. 1. p. 599. (*i*) *The Jews say this Book was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, but there being mention made therein of the Saracen Empire, it must have been written at least six hundred years after.*

either to eat or drink any thing of that, which was the *Samaritans*. And the words immediately following are to this purpose; for they tell us, that *the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans*. The common name by which they call these people, is that of *Cutbeans*, which is a name of so great infamy among them, that whenever they are provoked to express the utmost of their rancour against any one, they call him *Cutbean*, in the same manner as we often call those whom we detest *Jews* or *Turks*; but that of *Cutbean*, imports a much greater degree of detestation among them, than either of the other two do among us. And that this humour was very ancient among them appears from hence, that when the *Jews* expressed their utmost aversion to our Saviour, they said unto him (k) *Thou art a Samaritan and hast a Devil*, as if to be a *Samaritan* and have a Devil, were things of equal reproach. And the Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, when he reckons up the Nations which were most detestable to the *Jews*, (l) names *the foolish people that dwell in Sechem*, to be those who were chiefly so. However the *Samaritans* themselves will not own their Original from those Eastern Colonies of *Eserbad-don*, but claim to be descended from the sons of *Joseph*, and therefore call *Jacob* their Father; and so the woman of *Samaria* (m) calls him in her discourse with our Saviour. But *Josephus* (n) tells us they used to do this only, when the *Jews* were in Prosperity. But if at any time they fell under difficulties or oppressions, they then disclaimed all relation to them, saying they were of another Nation, as (o) was notoriously done by them in the time of *Antiochus's* persecution. The particulars, in which they and the *Jews* differ from each other in their Religion, are these following.

(k) John viii. 48. (l) Ecclesiasticus v. 25, 26.
 iv. 12. (n) Antiq. lib. 9. c. 24. & lib. 11. c. 8.
 Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

(m) John
 (o) Josephus

I. The *Samaritans* (*p*) receive none other Scriptures, than the five Books of *Moses*, rejecting all the other Books, which are in the Jewish Canon. And these five Books they still have among them, written in the old *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* Character, which was in use among them before the *Babylonish* Captivity, and in which both these, and all other Scriptures were written, till *Ezra* transcribed them into that of the *Chaldeans*. And this hath led many learned men into a mistake, as if the *Samaritan* Copy, because written in the old Character, were the true Authentic Copy, and that *Ezra's* was only a Transcript; whereas in Truth the *Samaritan* Pentateuch is no more than a Transcript, copied in another Character from that of *Ezra*, with some variations, additions, and transpositions made therein. That it was copied from that of *Ezra*, is manifest from two reasons. For *first*, It hath all the Interpolations that *Ezra's* Copy hath; and that he was the Author of those Interpolations is generally acknowledged; and therefore had it been ancients than *Ezra's* Copy, it must have been without them. *2dly*, There are a great many variations in the *Samaritan* Copy, which are manifestly caused by the mistake of the similar Letters in the *Hebrew* Alphabet; which letters having no similitude in the *Samaritan* Character, this evidently proves those variations were made in transcribing the *Samaritan* from the *Hebrew*, and not in transcribing the *Hebrew* from the *Samaritan*. It seems from hence to be beyond all doubt that *Manasseh*, when he fled to the *Samaritans*, first brought the Law of *Moses* among them. *Esarhaddon* indeed (*q*) sent to his new Colony, which he had planted in *Samaria*, an *Israelitish* Priest to teach them the way of worshipping God according to the manner of the former Inhabitants, but it appears not that he did this by bringing

(*p*) Hieronymus in Dialogo adversus Luciferianos. Epiphanius Hæres. 9. Benjaminis Itinerarium p. 38. Eutyrius, &c.

(*q*) 2 Kings xvii. 28.

the Law of *Moses* among them, or that they were any otherwise instructed in it, than by tradition, till *Manasseh* came among them. For had they received the Law of *Moses* from the first, and made that the rule of worship, which they paid the God of *Israel*, from the time of the coming of that Priest among them, how could they have continued in that gross Idolatry of worshipping other Gods in conjunction with him, which that Law doth so often and so strictly forbid? And yet in this Idolatry, it is agreed on all hands, they continued till the building of the Temple on Mount *Gerizim*; and therefore it seems clear, that till then they had not a Copy of this Law; but that when *Manasseh*, and so many Apostate *Jews* with him, came over to them, and settled in *Samaria*, they first brought it among them; And because the old *Phœnician* Character was that only which the *Samaritans* were accustomed to, they caused this Law, for their sakes, to be written out in that Character, and in this they have retained it ever since. This *Samaritan Pentateuch* was well known to many of the Fathers, and ancient Christian writers. For it is quoted by *Origen*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Diodor of Tarsus*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Procopius Gazaus*, and others. That which made it so familiar to them, was a *Greek Translation* of it then extant, which now is lost. For as there was a *Greek Translation* of the *Hebrew Scriptures* made for the use of the *Hellenistical Jews*, which we call the *Septuagint*, so also was there a like *Greek Translation* of the *Samaritan Scriptures* (that is the *Pentateuch*, which they only allowed for such) made for the use of the *Hellenistical Samaritans*, especially for those of *Alexandria*, (r) where the *Samaritans* dwelt in great numbers, as well as the *Jews*. *Origen* indeed, and *Jerom*, understood the *Hebrew Language*, and therefore might have consulted the *Samaritan Text*, that being none other than *Hebrew* in another Character.

(r) *Josephus Antiq.* lib. 12. c. 1. and lib. 13. c. 6.

But the rest of those mentioned understanding nothing of it, could no otherwise have any knowledge of this *Samaritan Pentateuch*, but from the Translation of it. And there is also an old Scholiast upon the *Septuagint*, that makes frequent mention of it. But this as well as the other ancient Books, in which any mention of this *Samaritan Pentateuch* is to be found, were all written before the end of the sixth Century. From that time for above a thousand years after, it hath lain wholly in the dark, and in an absolute state of oblivion among all Christians, both of the West and East, and hath been no more spoken of after that time by any of their writers, till about the beginning of the last Century, when *Scaliger* having gotten notice, that there was such a *Samaritan Pentateuch* among those of that Sect in the East, (s) made heavy complaints, that no one would take care to get a Copy of it from thence, and bring it among us into these parts. A little after this (t) *Archbishop Usher* procured several Copies of it out of the East, and not long after *Sancius Harley* a Priest of the Oratory at *Paris*, and afterwards Bishop of *St. Malo's* in *Britanny*, (u) brought another copy into *Europe*, and repositied it in the Library belonging to that Order in *Paris*. From which Copy *Morinus*, another Priest of the same Order, published it in the *Paris Polyglot*. This *Sancius Harley* had been Ambassador from the *French King*, at *Constantinople*, where having resided in that quality ten years, he made use of the opportunity which he had there, of making a good collection of Oriental Books, which he brought home with him on his return, and having a while after enter'd himself among the Oratorians at *Paris*, he did put all these Books into their Library, and among them was this Copy of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which *Morinus* published.

(s) De Emendatione Temporum lib. 7. p. 669. (t) Waltoni Prolegom. ix. ad Bibliā Polyglotta Lond. § 10. (u) Morini Exercitatio prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum Cap. 1.

The *Samaritans*, besides the Pentateuch in the Original *Hebrew* Language, have also (x) another in the Language that was vulgarly spoken among them. For as the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* Captivity degenerated in their Language from the *Hebrew* to the *Babylonish* Dialect, so the *Samaritans* did the same; whether this happened by their bringing this Dialect out of *Assyria* with them, when they first came to plant in *Samaria*, or that they first fell into it, by conforming themselves to the speech of those *Phœnician* and *Syrian* Nations, who lived next them, and with whom they mostly conversed, or else had it from the mixture of those *Jews*, who revolted to them with *Manasseh*, we have not light enough to determine. But however it came to pass, after it so happened, the vulgar no longer understood what was written in the *Hebrew* Language. And therefore as the *Jews* for the sake of the vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar Language, were forced to make *Chaldee* Versions of the Scriptures, which they call the *Targums* or *Chaldee Paraphrases*; So the *Samaritans* were forced for the same reason to do the same thing, and to make a Version of their Pentateuch into the vulgar *Samaritan*, which is called the *Samaritan* Version. And this *Samaritan* Version, as well as the Original *Samaritan* Text, *Morinus* published together in the *Polyglot* above-mentioned. The *Samaritan* Text he printed from *Sancius Harley's* Copy, but the *Samaritan* Version he had from *Peter a Valle*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, who having many years travelled over the East, brought it thence with him, and communicated it to *Morinus*. But that work being precipitated with too much haste, it had passed the press before such other helps came to him from *Perescius*, Dr. *Comber* Dean of *Carlisle*, and others, as would have enabled him to have made it much more perfect; but what was wanting therein, was afterwards rectified in the *London Poly-*

(x) Vide Waltonum & Morinum ibid.

glot, in which the *Samaritan* Text, and the *Samaritan* Version, and the *Latin* Translation of both, are published all together much more compleat and correct than they were before. This *Samaritan* Version is not made, like the *Chaldee* among the *Jews*, by way of Paraphrase, but by an exact rendring of the Text word for word, for the most part without any variation. So that *Morinus* thought one *Latin* Translation might serve for both, and the *London Polyglot* hath followed the same method; only where there are any variations, they are marked at the bottom of the page.

As to the variations, additions, and transpositions, whereby the *Samaritan* Copy differs from the *Hebrew*, they are all enumerated in *Hottinger's* Book against *Morinus*, and in the collation made of both Texts in the last volume of the *London Polyglot*. It is not to be so much wondered at, that there are these differences between these two Copies, as that there should not have been many more, after those who had adhered to the one, and those who had adhered to the other, had not only broken off all manner of Communication, but had constantly been in the bitterest variance possible with each other for above two thousand years. For so long had passed from the Apostacy of *Manasseh* to the time when these Copies were first brought into *Europe*. After the series of so many ages past, many differences might have happened by the errors of the transcribers, and the most that are between those two Copies, are of this sort. As to the rest, some are changes designedly made by the *Samaritans*, for the better support of their cause against the *Jews*, of which sort one that is notoriously such, will be taken notice of by and by in its proper place. Others are Interpolations for the better explication of the Text, added either from other parts of Scripture, or else by way of Paraphrase upon it, to express explicitly, what was thought to be implicitly contained therein. Of the first sort are, 1st, The addition which we find in the xviiith Chapter of *Exodus*,

dus, where between the 25th and 26th verses is inserted, what we have from the ninth to the fourteenth verse of the first of *Deuteronomy* inclusively ; And 2dly, That which we find in the tenth of *Numbers*, where between the tenth and the eleventh verses is inserted, all that which we read in the sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the first of *Deuteronomy* ; both which insertions are wanting in the *Hebrew*. And of the other sort are what we find in the fourth Chapter of *Genesis*, ver. 8. and in the twelfth Chapter of *Exodus*, verse the 40th. In the first of these, after what is said in the *Hebrew* Text, *And Cain spake* (or said) *to Abel his Brother*, the *Samaritan* Text adds, *Let us go into the field*. And in the latter, instead of these words in the *Hebrew* Text ; *Now the inhabiting of the Children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were 430 years* ; The *Samaritan* Text hath it, *Now the inhabiting of the Children of Israel, and their Fathers, whereby they inhabited in the Land of Canaan, and in the Land of Egypt, were 430 years*. But these additions, it is manifest, mend the Text, and make it more clear, and intelligible, and seem to add nothing to the *Hebrew* Copy, but what must be understood by the Reader, to make out the sense thereof. As to the other variations, the most considerable of them are those, which we find in the ages of the Patriarchs before *Abraham*, in which the *Samaritan* Computation comes nearer to the *Septuagint*, than to the *Hebrew*, though it differs from both. How these, or the transpositions of verses, or the other alterations and additions, which are found in the *Samaritan* Copy, and the differences which from thence arise between the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, came about, many conjectures have been offered ; but no certain judgment being to be made about them, without a better light to direct us herein, than we can now have, I will trouble the Reader with none of them ; But shall add only this farther upon this head, that none of these differences can infer, that the *Samaritan* Copy, which we now have, is not truly that
which

which was anciently in use among them. For most, if not all of those passages, which were quoted out of it above eleven hundred years since, by those writers I have mentioned, as differing from, or agreeing with the *Hebrew Text*, and by some of them much earlier, are now to be found in the present *Samaritan Copies* in the same words, as quoted by them, and in the same manner differing from, or agreeing with that Text. There is an old Copy of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* now shewn at *Shechem* (or *Naplous* as they now call it) the head seat of that Sect, which would put this matter beyond all dispute, were that true which is said of it. For (y) they tell us, that therein are written these words: *I Abishua the son of Phineas the son of Eleazar the son of Aaron the High-Priest, have transcribed this Copy at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, in the thirteenth year of the Children of Israel's entrance into the Holy Land.* But Dr. Huntington, late Bishop of *Rapho* in *Ireland*, having while Chaplain to the *Turkey Company* at *Aleppo*, been at *Shechem*, and there examined this Copy upon the Spot, found no such words on the Manuscript, nor thought the Copy ancient. Whether the *Samaritans* did in ancient times absolutely reject all the other Scriptures besides the *Pentateuch*, some do doubt; because it is certain (z) from the discourse of the woman of *Samaria* with our Saviour, that they had the same expectations of a *Messiah*, that the *Jews* had, and this, they say, they could no where clearly have, but from the Prophets. And it cannot be denied, but that there is some force in this Argument. Perchance altho' they did read the *Pentateuch* only in their Synagogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other sacred writings, whatsoever their sentiments may be of them at present.

(y) Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. § 17. Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ Sect. 37. Basnage's *History the Jews*, Book 2. chap. 2. p. 81. (z) John iv. 25.

II. The second point of difference in Religion between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews* anciently was, and still is, that the *Samaritans* reject all Traditions, and adhere only to the written word itself, and in the observance of that they are acknowledged by the *Jews* themselves to be more exact than they are, and good reason is there for them so to say. For the *Jews* often make the Law (a) of none effect by their Traditions, whereas the *Samaritans* always kept themselves strictly to the written word, and never admitted any such corrupt Glosses to draw them from it. And because in this they agreed with the Sadducees (For they also denied all Traditions, and adhered to the written letter of the Law only) hence the *Jews* have taken an handle of calumniating them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the Sadducees also, and (b) denied with them the Resurrection of the dead, which led (c) *Epiphanius* and (d) *St. Gregory* into the Error of asserting this to be their opinion, whereas the Resurrection of the Dead hath always been a Doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believed among them, as by the *Jews* themselves.

III. The third point of difference in Religion between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews* was about the place of their worship. The words of the Woman of *Samaria* in the Gospel of *St. John* state this matter exactly right. For in her Discourse with our Saviour she saith to him, *Our Fathers worshipped in this Mountain, but ye (meaning the Jews) say that in Jerusalem is the place, where men ought to worship.* The Law given by *Moses* was, that they should perform all their Sacrifices and Oblations (e) in the place that God should choose out of all their Tribes to put his name there, and that place was *Jerusalem*. For (f) there the Temple by the direction of God himself was

(a) Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13. (b) *Joseph. Albo* Sect. 31. Serm. 4. (c) *Hæres.* 9. (d) *Moral* in *Job* lib. 1. cap. 15. (e) *Deuteronomy* xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 26. xv. 26. xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, &c. (f) *1 Chron.* xxii.

built, and (g) there God consecrated it by the habitation of his divine presence therein, and there all the Tribes of *Israel*, that adhered to the true worship of God, offered up their Sacrifices, and there the Temple was again rebuilt after the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the same service there carried on in a Unity and Uniformity of worship by all of that Nation, till *Manasseh* made the Schism that hath been mentioned, and fleeing to *Samarina* did there set up Altar against Altar, and Temple against Temple. For after he had built that Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, and therein erected an Altar in opposition to that at *Jerusalem*, the *Samaritans*, and apostate *Jews* who revolted to them, would no longer allow *Jerusalem* to be the place which God had chosen; but contended, that Mount *Gerizim* was that place, and argued for it in the same manner, as the woman of *Samarina* did unto our Saviour, that is, that their Fathers worshipped in that Mountain. For they plead that there (b) *Abraham*, and there (i) *Jacob* built altars unto God, and by their offering up of Sacrifices on them, consecrated that place above all others to his worship, and that therefore it was appointed by God himself to be the Hill (k) of blessing on the coming of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, and that accordingly *Joshua* on his entering the Land of *Canaan* had caused the blessings of God to be declared thereon, and also that on his having passed the River *Jordan*, he built an Altar on it of twelve stones, taken out of that River in his passage (l) according as God had commanded by *Moses*. And this they hold to be the very Altar upon which they still sacrifice on that mountain even to this day. But to make out this last part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to Mount *Gerizim*

(g) 1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1, 2, 3. (b) Gen. xii. 6, - xiii. 4. (i) Gen. xxxiii. 20. (k) Deut. xxvii. 12. (l) Deut. xxvii. 2-7.

and their place of worship thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the Text. For whereas the Command of God is (*Deut. xxvii. 4.*) that they should set up the Altar upon Mount *Ebal*, they have there made a Sacrilegious change in the Text, and instead of *Ebal* have put Mount *Gerizim*, the better to serve their cause by it. This corruption the *Jews* loudly charge them with, and the *Samaritans* do as loudly retort it upon them, and say that the *Jews* have corrupted the Text in that place, by putting Mount *Ebal* in their Copies, where it should be Mount *Gerizim*; and bring this argument for it, that Mount *Gerizim* having been the Mountain that was appointed, whereon to declare the blessings of God, and Mount *Ebal* whereon to denounce his Curses, the Mountain of blessing was very proper, and the Mountain of cursing very improper, for an Altar of God to be built upon. But notwithstanding this allegation in their behalf, all other Copies and Translations of the *Pentateuch* make against them, and prove the corruption to be on their side. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the Scriptures in this place, but have also interpolated them with this corruption in another, that is in the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*, where (m) after the tenth Command-

(m) The words added by the Samaritans after the tenth Commandment in the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*, are as followeth ----- And it shall be when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the Land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set up great Stones, and plaister them with plaister, and thou shalt write upon these Stones all the words of this Law. And it shall be, when ye are gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these Stones which I command you this day, in Mount *Gerizim*, and thou shalt build there an Altar unto the Lord thy God, an Altar of Stones. Thou shalt not lift up any Iron Tool upon them. Thou shalt build the Altar of the Lord thy God of whole Stones. And thou shalt there offer burnt-offerings thereon to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer peace-offerings and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. This Mountain is on the other side

ment, they have subjoined by way of an additional precept thereto, words taken out of the eleventh and twenty seventh Chapters of *Deuteronomy*, to command the erecting of the Altar in Mount *Gerizim* instead of Mount *Ebal*, and the offering of Sacrifices to God in that place. And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt alteration in one place, and a corrupt addition in another, merely out of design to serve an ill cause, this gives the less authority to their Copy in all other places, where either by alterations or additions it differs from that of the *Jews*.

These two Mountains called *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, are in the Tribe of *Ephraim* near *Samaria*, and in the valley between them lieth *Shechem*, now called *Naplaus*, which hath been the head seat of the *Samaritan* Sect, ever since *Alexander* expelled them out of *Samaria* for the death of *Andromachus*. This place the *Jews* in our Saviour's time by way of reproach called *Sicbar*, and therefore we have it so named in (n) *St. John's Gospel*. It signifieth the drunken City; and the Prophet *Isaiab* having called the *Ephraimites* (whose dwelling was in those parts) (o) *Siccorim*, i. e. *Drunkards*, they have this Text on their side for the justifying of that name. Near this place was the Field (p) which *Jacob* bought of the children of *Hamor*, and gave unto *Joseph* his Son a little before his death. Therein *Joseph's* bones (q) were buried, when brought up out of the Land of *Egypt*, and within the same plot of ground was the well called *Jacob's well*, (r) at which our Saviour sat down, when he discoursed the woman of *Samaria*. But after all the contest that is made between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews* about these two Mountains,

side Jordan by the way where the sun goeth down, in the Land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the Champion over-against Gilgal, besides the plains of Moreh, which are over-against Shechem. (n) John iv. 5. (o) *Isaiah* xxviii. 1. (p) *Gen.* xxiii. 19. xlviii. 22. *Joshua* xxiv. 32. (q) *Joshua* xxiv. 32. (r) *John* iv. 6.

(s) *Jerom* is positive, that neither of them were the *Gerizim* and *Ebal* of the Holy Scriptures, but that the two Mountains so called in them, and on which the blessings and the cursings were proclaimed by the children of *Israel*, on their first passing over *Jordan* into the Land of *Canaan*, were two small Mountains or Hills lying near *Jericho*, at a great distance from *Shechem*. And *Epiphanius* was of the same opinion with *Jerom* in this matter; and they having been both upon the place, may well be thought the best able to pass a true judgment about it. Their Arguments for it are, 1st, That the Scriptures place these two Mountains over-against that part of the River *Jordan*, where the children of *Israel* passed into the Land of *Canaan*, and near *Gilgal*; but *Shechem* is at a great distance from both. And 2dly, that the Mountains near *Shechem*, called Mount *Gerizim* and Mount *Ebal*, are at too great a distance from each other for the People from either of them to hear either the blessings or the cursings which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwise as to the Hills near *Jericho*, which they conceive to be the Hills by the names of *Gerizim* and *Ebal* meant in Scripture. But that Hill from which *Jotham* the Son of *Gideon* made his Speech to the *Shechemites*, being (t) called *Gerizim*, and that certainly lying just over them (for otherwise they could not have heard him from thence,) this clearly makes against this opinion, and evidently proves the Mount *Gerizim* of the Holy Scriptures, to be that very Mount *Gerizim*, on which the Temple of the *Samaritans* was built.

The *Jews* accuse the *Samaritans* of two pieces of Idolatry, which (u) they say were committed by them in this place. The first, that they there worshipped

(s) Vide Scaligeri animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon sub Numero 1681. (t) Judges ix. 7. (u) Talmud in Tractatu Cholin. vide etiam Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. § 7. & Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianas Sect. 16. & 17.

the image of a Dove; and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain *Teraphim* or Idol Gods there hid under that mountain. For the first charge, they took the handle from the Idolatry of the *Affyrians*. For that People having worshipped one of their Deities (*Semiramis* (x) saith *Diodorus Siculus*) under the image of a Dove, they reproached the *Samaritans* as worshippers of the like image, because descended from them, and perchance they were so while they worshipped their other Gods with the God of *Israel*, but never afterwards. And as to the second charge, it's true *Jacob* having found out, that *Rachel* had stolen her Father's *Teraphim* or Idol Gods, took them from her (y) and buried them under the Oak in *Shechem*, which they suppose to have been at the foot of the Mountain *Gerizim*; and from hence, because the *Samaritans* worshipped God in that Mountain, the *Jews* suggest, that they worshipped there for the sake of these Idols, and paid divine adoration unto them. But both these charges were malicious calumnies, falsely imputed to them. For after the time that *Manasseh* brought the Law of *Moses* among them, and instructed them in it, the *Samaritans* became as zealous worshippers of the true God, and as great abhorers of all manner of Idolatry, as the most rigorous of the *Jews* themselves, and so continue even to this day.

And with this last Act of *Nehemiab's* Reformation, and the Expulsion of those refractory *Jews*, that would not conform to it, not only the first Period of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, but also the Holy Scriptures of the old Testament ending, I shall here also end this Book, and proceed to relate what after followed from the beginning of the next.

(x) Lib. 2. p. 66. & p. 76. (y) Gen. xxxv. 2, 3, 4.



THE
OLD *and* NEW TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

Jews and Neighbouring Nations,

FROM THE

Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel*
and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VII.



HUS far we have had the light of
Scripture to follow.
Henceforth the Books *Anno* 408.
Darius Nothus 16.
of the *Maccabees*, *Philo*
Judæus, *Josephus*, and the *Greek* and
Latin writers, are the only Guides,
which we can have to lead us thro-
rough the future Series of this History, till we come
to the times of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*. How long
after this *Nehemiah* lived at *Jerusalem*, is uncertain;
it is most likely, that he continued in his Govern-
ment.

ment to the time of his Death, but when that happened is no where said, only it may be observed, that at the time where he ends his Book, he could not be much less than seventy years old. After him, there seems not to have been any more Governors of *Judea*, but that this Country being added to the Prefecture of *Syria*, was thenceforth wholly subjected to the Governor of that Province, and that under him the High-Priest had the trust of regulating all affairs therein.

While *Darius* was making war against the *Egyptians* and the *Arabians*, the (a) *Medes* revolted from him, but being vanquished in battle they were soon forced again to return to their former allegiance, and for the punishment of their Rebellion submit to a heavier yoke of subjection, than they had on them before; as is always the case of revolting Subjects when reduced again under the power against which they rebelled.

And the next year after, *Darius* seems to have had as good success against the *Egyptians*. For *Amyrtæus* being dead (perchance slain in battle) *Herodotus* (b) tells us his son *Pausiris* succeeded him in the Kingdom by the favour of the *Persians*; which argues, that before they granted him this, they had reduced *Egypt* again under them, otherwise *Pausiris* could not have been made King of it by their favour.

Darius having thus settled his affairs in *Media* and *Egypt* (c) sent *Cyrus* his younger son to be Commander in chief of all the Provinces of *Lesser Asia*, giving him Authority paramount over all the Lieutenants and Governors afore placed in them. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so large an authority. For having been born after his Father's accession to the Throne, he could not have been

(a) Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 1. Herodotus lib. 9. (b) Lib. 3.
(c) Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 1. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe, & Lyandro, Ctesias. Justin. Lib. 5. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 368.

now above sixteen years old. But being the darling and best beloved son of *Parysatis*, who had an absolute ascendant over the old King her Husband, she obtained this Commission for him, with an intention no doubt to put him into a Capacity of contending for the Crown after his Father's death, and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great damage and disturbance of the whole *Persian* Empire, as will be hereafter related.

On his receiving his Commission (d) he had this chiefly given him in charge by his Father, that he should help the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures hitherto observed by *Tissaphernes*, and the other Governors of the *Persian* Provinces in those parts. For their practice hitherto had been, sometimes by helping one side and sometimes by helping the other, so to balance the matter between both Parties, that each being kept up to be a match for the other, both might continue to harass and weaken each other by carrying on the war, and neither be at leisure to disturb the *Persian* Empire. This order of the King's for a contrary practice soon discovered the weakness of his Politics. For the *Lacedæmonians* having by the help which *Cyrus* gave them, according to his Father's instructions, soon overpowered the *Athenians*, and gain'd an absolute conquest over them, they were no sooner at leisure from this war, but they sent first *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercillidas*, and at last *Agésilas* their King, to invade the *Persian* Provinces in *Asia*; where they did the *Persians* a great deal of damage, and might at length have endangered the whole Empire, but that the *Persians* by distributing vast sums of money among the *Grecian* Cities, and the Demagogues that governed them, found means to rekindle the war again in *Greece*, which necessitated the *Lacedæmonians* to recal their Forces for their own defence, just when

(d) Xenophon. *ibid.* Diodor. Sic. *ibid.* Thucydides lib. 2. Justin. *ib.* Plutarchus in *Lyfandro*.

they were going to march into the heart of that Empire, and there strike at the very vitals of it. So dangerous a thing is it in Neighbouring States to break the balance of power which is between them, so as to put any one of them into a Capacity of oppressing and over-powering the rest. And this instance also shews, that it is no new thing for the managers of publick affairs, to barter away their National interest for their private gain, and sell it for money even to those whom they have most reason always to hate, and always to beware of.

Cyrus at Sardis (e) having put to death two Noble *Persians*, who were sons to a sister of *Darius*, for no other reason, but that they did not on their meeting of him wrap up their hands within their sleeves, as was used to be done among the *Persians* on their meeting of the King : *Darius*, on complaint made hereof by the Parents of the slain, was grievously offended, not only for the death of his two Nephews, but also for the presumption of his son in challenging to himself the honour, which was due only to the King ; and therefore not thinking it fit any longer to trust him with that Government, recalled him to court, on pretence that he was sick, and therefore desired to see him. But before *Cyrus* did put himself upon this journey (f) he ordered such large subsidies to *Lyfander* General of the *Lacedæmonians*, as enabled him to pay his Fleet, and strengthen it so far, as to put it in that condition, by virtue whereof he gained that memorable Victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats River* in the *Hellepont*, whereby he absolutely overthrew the *Athenian* state. For after this they being no longer able to defend themselves, he took from them all their Cities in *Asia*, and having besieged *Athens* itself, forced them to a surrender on the very hard conditions of dismantling their City, and giving

Anno 405. Darius Nothus 19.

(e) Xenophon Hellenicorum lib. 2. (f) Plutarchus in Lyfandro. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 2. Diodorus Sic. lib. 13.

up their Fleet, which did put an end to the *Athenian* power, and vested the Government of *Greece* wholly in the *Lacedæmonians*, after they and the *Athenians* had contended for it in a very bitter war full seven and twenty years. This was called the *Peloponnesian* war, and is made very famous by the excellent accounts, which are written of it by *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, two of the best Historians *Greece* ever had: their writings have ennobled it in the same manner as *Homer's* did the war of *Troy*.

About the time of this ending of the war (g) died *Darius Nothus* King of *Persia*, after he had reigned nineteen years. Before his death *Cyrus* was come to him, and his mother *Parysatis* the Queen, to whom he was the best beloved of all her Children, not being content to have made his peace with his Father, whom he had greatly offended by his male-administrations in his Government, pressed hard upon the old King to have him declared the Heir of his Crown, upon the same pretence whereby *Xerxes* had obtained the preference before his Elder Brothers in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*, that is, that he was born after his Father came to the Crown, and the other before. But *Darius* refusing to comply with her herein, bequeathed to *Cyrus* only the Government of those Provinces which he had before, and left his Crown to *Arfaces* his eldest son by the same *Parysatis*, who on his ascending the Throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same to whom the *Greeks* for his extraordinary memory gave the name of *Mnemon*, i. e. the Rememberer. When his Father lay a dying, and he was attending on him at his bed-side, he desired to be instructed by him, by what art it was that he had so happily managed the Government, and so long preserved himself in it, to the end that he by following the same rule might attain the same success; to which (b) he had this memora-

(g) Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Justin. lib. 5. c. 8. & cap. 11. Ctesias. (b) Athenæus lib. 12.

ble answer given him by the dying King, *That it was by doing in all things that which was just both towards God and Man*; a Saying worthy to be written up in letters of Gold in the Palaces of Princes, that having it constantly in their view, they might be put in mind to order all their actions according to it.

Cyrus (i) being discovered to have laid a plot for the murdering of *Artaxerxes* in the Temple at *Pasargada*, when he was to come thither according to the ancient custom to be in-

Anno 404.
Artaxerxes 1.

augurated King, was taken into custody for the Treason, and ordered to be put to death for it. But his Mother *Parysatis* was so importunate with *Artaxerxes* for the saving of his life, that at length by her means he obtained his pardon, and was sent again into Lesser *Asia* unto the Government left him by his Father's will. But carrying thither with him his ambition, and also his resentments for the danger of his life, which he was put into, he took such courses for the gratifying of these passions, which soon made his Brother repent of his clemency towards him.

As soon as *Artaxerxes* was settled in the throne, (k) *Statira* his Queen, who for her great beauty was very much beloved by him, made use of her power with him to be revenged on *Udiastes* for the death of her Brother *Teriteuchmes*. The whole matter had its rise in the reign of *Darius*, and was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which caused great disturbances in the Royal Family, and ended very Tragically upon all that were concerned in it. The Father of *Statira* was *Hidarnes* a noble *Persian*, and Governor of one of the principal Provinces of the Empire. *Artaxerxes* the King's eldest Son, then called *Arfaces*, falling in love with her took her to Wife, and *Teriteuchmes* her Brother about the same time married *Hamestris* one of the daughters of *Da-*

(i) Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri lib. 1. Justin. lib. 5, c. 11, Ctesias. (k) Ctesias.

rius, and sister of *Arfaces*; by reason of which marriage on the death of his Father he succeeded him in his Government. But having a sister named *Roxana*, of as great beauty as *Statira*, and excellently skill'd in archery and the throwing of the dart, he fell desperately in love with her, and that he might with the greater freedom have the enjoyment of his lust upon her, he resolved to make away with *Hamestris*, and rebel against the King. Of which wicked designs *Darius* having notice, engaged *Udiastes*, a chief confident of *Teriteuchmes*, by great rewards and greater promises, to endeavour to prevent both by cutting off *Teriteuchmes*. This *Udiastes* to earn the rewards readily undertook, and falling upon *Teriteuchmes* slew him, and thereon had the Government of his province conferred on him for his reward. *Mithridates* the son of *Udiastes* being one of *Teriteuchmes*'s Guard, and engaged much in friendship and affection to him, on the hearing of this fact of his Father's, bitterly imprecated vengeance upon him for it, and in abhorrence of what was done seized the City *Zaris*, and there declaring for the son of *Teriteuchmes* rebelled against the King. But *Darius* having soon mastered this revolt, and shut up *Mithridates* within his Fortress, got all the Family of *Hidarnes* excepting the son of *Teriteuchmes*, whom *Mithridates* protected, into his power, and delivered them into the hands of *Parysatis* to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage of her daughter; who having caused *Roxana* in the first place to be sawn in two, who was the chief cause of all the mischief, ordered all the rest to be put to death, only at the earnest intreaty and importunate tears of *Arfaces* she spared *Statira* his beloved Wife, contrary to the sentiments of *Darius*, who told her, that she would afterwards have reason to repent of it, and so accordingly it happened. Thus this matter stood at the death of *Darius*; but *Arfaces* was no sooner settled on the Throne, but *Statira* prevailed with him to have *Udiastes* delivered into her hands, whereon she commanded his tongue to be drawn

drawn on at his neck, and thus cruelly did put him to death in revenge for the part which he acted in the ruin of her Family, and made *Mitbridates* his son, for the affection he expressed to it, Governor of the Province in his stead. But *Parysatis* bitterly resenting this fact, in revenge hereof poisoned the son of *Teriteuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* herself, in the manner as will be hereafter related. This gives us instances of the bitterness of Woman's revenge, and also of the exorbitant liberties, which such are apt to run into of doing all manner of wickedness, who being put above all restraint of Laws, have nothing but arbitrary will and pleasure to govern themselves by.

Cyrus designing a war against his Brother, (l) employed *Clearchus* a *Lacedæmonian* Captain to raise an army of *Greeks* for his service, which he listed with a pretence of making war with the *Thracians*; but they being maintained by *Cyrus's* money were kept on foot for the executing of those designs, which he was forming against the King. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* (m) finding out the true end, for which these Levies were made, passed over into the Province of *Pharnabazus* with purpose to go to the *Persian* Court, there to make known to *Artaxerxes* what was a brewing against him. But those who were the Partizans of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Athens*, fearing the great genius of that Man, did let them know, that their Affairs could not long stand unless he were cut off; whereon they sent to *Pharnabazus* to have him put to death, and he accordingly executed what they desired; and in his death the *Athenians* lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily again recovering by him their former State. For had he got to the *Persian* Court, he would so far have merited the favour of *Artaxerxes*

Anno 403:
Artaxerxes 2.

(l) Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de expeditione Cyri lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. (m) Plutarchus in Alcibiade. Diodorus Sic. & Xenophon ibid. Cornelius Nepos in Alcibiade.

by the discovery, which he intended to make unto him, as no doubt he would have gotten his assistance for the restoration of his Country, and with that assistance, a Person of his valour and other great abilities would have turned the scales, and again set the *Athenians* as high as ever, and brought the *Lacedæmonians* as low as they had brought them; for the preventing of which the *Lacedæmonians* took the Course of having him cut off, in the manner as I have mentioned.

Anno 402.

Artaxerxes 3.

The Cities that were under the Government of *Tissaphernes* revolting from him to *Cyrus*, (n) this produced a war between them; and *Cyrus*, under the pretence of arming against *Tissaphernes*, went more openly to work in getting Forces together; and to blind the matter the more, he wrote letters of heavy complaints to the King against *Tissaphernes*, and prayed in the humblest manner his favour and protection against him; by which *Artaxerxes* being deceived, thought all the preparations which he was making, were against *Tissaphernes* only, and not being at all displeased, that they should be at variance with each other, took no farther care of the matter, but permitted his Brother to go on still to raise more Forces, till at length he had got an Army on foot, sufficient to put his Designs in Execution, for the dethroning of him, and the setting up of himself in his stead. And since he had helped the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, and thereby put them into a Capacity of gaining those victories over them, whereby they had made themselves Masters of *Greece*, in confidence of the friendship which he had merited from them thereby, he communicated his designs unto them, and asked their assistance for the accomplishing of them, which they readily granted, and ordered their Fleet to join that under *Tamus*, *Cyrus's* Admiral, and obey such orders as that Prince should give them. But this they

(n) Plutarchus, Xenophon & Diodor, *ibid*.

did without declaring any thing against *Artaxerxes*, or pretending to know at all of the designs which *Cyrus* was carrying on against him. With this caution they thought fit to act while the event of the war was uncertain, that in case *Artaxerxes* gained the victory, they might not, by what they did in favour of his enemy, draw on them his resentments for it.

At length *Cyrus* having raised all those Forces, which he thought sufficient for his designs, and mustered them all together, (o) he marched with them directly against his Brother. He was followed in this Expedition by thirteen thousand *Greeks*, under the command of *Clearchus* (which were the flower and main strength of his army) and by an hundred thousand of other Forces, raised from among the Barbarians. *Artaxerxes* having notice of this from *Tissaphernes*, who posted to the *Persian* Court to give him information of it, prepared to meet him with a numerous army. *Cyrus's* greatest difficulty was to pass the Straits of *Cilicia*, where *Siennesis*, King of that Country, was making ready to stop his progress, and would certainly have effected it, but that *Tamus*, and the *Lacedæmonians* with their fleet, coming upon the Coasts of that Country, diverted him to defend his own Territories. For a small Guard in those narrow passes, might be sufficient to impede the march of the greatest army. But after *Cyrus* had by this means got through them, he then marched on without any farther difficulty or obstruction, till he came to the plains of *Cunaxa*, in the Province of *Babylon*, where *Artaxerxes* meeting him with an army of nine hundred thousand men, it there came to a decisive battle between them, in which *Cyrus* rashly venturing his person too far into the heat of the battle, was unfortunately slain, after his Auxiliary *Greeks* had in a manner gotten the victory for him. This put those

Anno 401.
Artaxerxes 4.

(o) Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri. Diordorus Sic. lib. 14. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 5. c. 11.

Greeks into a great distress. For they were now at a great distance from their own homes, in the heart of the *Persian* Empire, and there surrounded with the numerous Forces of a conquering Army, and had no way to return again into *Greece*, but by breaking through them, and forcing their retreat through a vast Tract of their Enemies Country, which lay between them and home. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties. For the next day after, having on consultation together resolved to attempt their return by the way of *Paphlagonia*, they immediately set themselves on their march, and in spite of all oppositions from a numerous Army of *Persians*, which coasted them all the way, made a retreat of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles, all the way through Provinces belonging to the Enemy, and got safe to the *Grecian* Cities on the *Euxin* Sea, which was the longest and the most memorable retreat, that was ever made through an Enemy's Country. *Clearchus* first commanded in it, but he having in the beginning of it been cut off by the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, it was afterwards conducted chiefly by *Xenophon*, to whose valour and wisdom it was principally owing, that they at length got safely again into *Greece*. The same *Xenophon* having written a large account of this Expedition, the Preparations that were made for it, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle after it was lost, and that Book being still extant, and published in the *English* language, I need say no more, than refer the Reader to it, for a fuller History of all this matter.

(p) *Psammitichus*, who was descended from the ancient *Psammitichus*, that was King of *Egypt* some ages before, and of whom I have spoken in the first Book of this History, reigned over the *Egyptians* after *Pausiris*. To him fled *Tamus*, *Cyrus's* Admiral. For after the death of that Prince, *Tissaphernes* being sent down into his former Government, with an enlarge-

ment of power, (as having in the reward of the great service, which he had done the King in the late war, the same command given him in those parts that *Cyrus* had,) all the Governors of those Cities and Districts, within the verge of his Authority, who had espoused the interest of *Cyrus*, fearing the account which he might call them to for it, sent their Agents to make their Peace with him on the best Terms they could. Only *Tamus*, who was the most powerful of them, took another Course. He was by birth an *Egyptian* of the City of *Memphis*, and being a person of great valour, and of great skill in maritime affairs, he was first employed by *Tissaphernes* in the *Persian* Fleet, and afterwards under *Cyrus* became chief Commander of it, and also Governor of *Ionia*; by which means having amassed great wealth, instead of courting the favour of *Tissaphernes*, or at all trusting to his Clemency, he put his Wife, Children, and Servants, with all else that he had, on board his Ships, and made his retreat into his own Country, much confiding in the friendship of *Psammetichus*, which he had merited by many good Offices that he had done him, while he served the *Persians*. But the perfidious man having no regard to former obligations, or the common Laws either of Humanity or Hospitality, as soon as he had received an account of his arrival, and of the great riches which he brought with him, for the sake of them, instead of receiving him as a friend, he fell upon him as an enemy, and having slain him with all his family and followers, made a prey of all that they had. Only *Gaus* one of his Sons staying behind in *Asia*, escaped this Massacre, and afterwards became Admiral of the *Persian* Fleet in the *Cyprian* War; all the rest were barbarously murdered for the sake of what they had. Such horrid wickednesses doth the greedy desire of gain too often prompt men to, when they give up their minds to it. But Providence, no doubt, suffered it not to go unpunished, though we have no account of it; this barbarous Murder being the only Act that History hath recorded of this Prince.

Statira being very troublesome to *Parysatis* her Mother-in-law, in expressing her resentments and reproaches, for the Countenance which she gave unto *Cyrus* her younger son against King *Artaxerxes*, to be revenged for this and other grudges, formerly conceived against her, (q) she caused her to be poisoned, which was effected by this Stratagem. They supping both together, and a certain bird being served up at Table, which was a great rarity among the *Persians*, it was divided between her and her Daughter-in-law by a Knife poisoned on one side only; that part which was cut off on the unpoisoned side of the Knife was given to *Parysatis*, and she having eaten it, this encouraged *Statira* without any suspicion to eat the other part, which was cut off on the poisoned side of the Knife, and she died of it within a few hours after. The loss of this his much-beloved Wife greatly afflicted *Artaxerxes*, and therefore afterwards full discovery having been made how it came to pass, he banished his Mother to *Babylon* for it, and for some years after never saw her; but at length, time having mollified his grief and resentments, he permitted her again to return to Court, and from that time she made it her chief Business to humour him in every thing right or wrong, and no more crossed him in any thing whatsoever it was, that he had an inclination to do; and by this means she regained her Interest with him, and held it to her death. She was a most crafty woman, and of great understanding and penetration in all affairs, and of as great wickedness, as what is above related of her doth sufficiently shew.

Tissaphernes being settled in his Government, and with that enlargement of power, which
Anno 400. I have mentioned, (r) he began to set
Artaxerxes 5. hard upon the *Grecian* Cities in those

(q) Ctesias. Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*.
 eorum lib. 3. Diodorus Sic. lib. 14.

(r) Xenophon *Helleni-*

parts; whereon they sent to the *Lacedæmonians* to pray their protection against him, and they being now freed from that long war which they had with the *Athenians*, gladly laid hold of this occasion of again breaking with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro* into those parts with an Army against them, which being strengthen'd by the conjunction of those forces to it, which *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, and such others as were raised out of the *Grecian* Cities which he came to protect, he took the field with it against *Tissaphernes*, and wore out the time of his Government in several military actions in that Country, in which he had some few, but not any great Successes.

But (s) he having kept very bad discipline in his Army, and permitted his Soldiers to make great depredations on the Allies, complaint was made hereof to the *Lacedæmonians*, whereon they sent *Dercyllidas* to take charge of that war in his stead, who being an able General, as well as a most excellent Engineer (which last he was more particularly famous for) he managed it with better order, and much better Success: and *Thimbro* being called home to answer for what he was accused of, and convicted of it, was sent into banishment for the punishment of his crime.

Anno 399.
Artaxerxes G.

Dercyllidas, after he had entered on his charge, (t) finding that he was not strong enough to wage war with *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* both together, resolved to agree with the one of them, that thereby he might be the better enabled to encounter the other; and therefore having, according to this Scheme, made peace with *Tissaphernes*, he marched against *Pharnabazus* with all his forces, and took from him all *Æolis*, and dispossessed him of several Cities besides in those parts; whereon *Pharnabazus* fearing that he might invade *Phrygia* also, where was the

(s) Xenophon & Diodorus ibidem. (t) Xenophon Hellen. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

chief Seat of his Government, was glad to make a Truce with him, to be secured from his farther insults.

About (u) this time *Conon*, by the means of *Ctesias*, the *Cnidian*, who was chief Physician to *Artaxerxes*, procured Peace from that King for *Euagoras* of *Salamine* in the Island of *Cyprus*. This *Euagoras* having expelled *Abdymon* the *Citian* out of that City, where he was Governor for the *Persian* King, set himself up in his stead, and reigned there as King of that place many years. *Conon* having been one of the Generals of the *Athenians* at the battle of the *Goats River*, (w) as soon as he saw all was there brought to a desperate point, made his escape with nine of the *Athenian* Ships, and having sent one of them to *Athens*, to acquaint his Citizens with the ill fate of the battle, fled with the rest to this *Euagoras*, with whom he had contracted a former friendship, and there continuing with him, made use of the interest he had with the said *Ctesias* at the *Persian* Court, to do his friend this good office. For *Ctesias* being chief Physician to *Artaxerxes* (as I have already said) was much in his favour, and had a great interest with him. He was (x) at first Physician to *Cyrus* his Brother, and followed him to the battle, in which he was slain; where being taken Prisoner, he was made use of to cure *Artaxerxes* of the wounds received by him in that battle, in which having well succeeded, he was retained as chief Physician in ordinary to that King, and lived with him in that quality seventeen years. While he resided at this Court, having well informed himself in the Histories of those Countries (y) he wrote them in twenty three Books. The six first of them contained an account of the Empire of the *As-*

(u) Diodorus Siculus lib. 14. *Ctesias*. Theopompus in Excerptis Photii, N. 176. (w) Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Plutarchus in Lyfandro. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Isocrates in Euagora. (x) Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodorus Siculus lib. 2 p. 84. (y) Diodorus Siculus ibid. Photius Cod. 62. Suidas. in Κτησίας.

Assyrians and *Babylonians*, from the time of (z) *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, to that of *Cyrus*; the other seventeen were of the affairs of *Persia*, from the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus*, to the third year of the ninety fifth Olympiad, which was coincident with the year before Christ 398, the very next immediately following after this, of which I now write. For here *Diodorus Siculus* (a) tells us it ended. And he wrote also an History of *India*. Out of both these *Photius* hath written extracts. And these are all the remains which are extant of his writings. He often (b) contradicts *Herodotus*, and in some things also differs from *Xenophon*. We find but a poor Character of him among the Ancients, (c) they generally speaking of him as a fabulous writer; yet *Diodorus Siculus* and *Trogus Pompeius* take most of that from him, which they have written of the *Assyrian* affairs. For he having professed, (d) that all which he wrote was taken out of the Royal Records of *Persia*, in which all transactions were, according to a Law there ordained for this purpose, faithfully registred, this imposed on many to give him more credit than he deserved. For that there were such Royal Records then in *Persia*, in which all the affairs and transactions of the Government were faithfully entered, was a thing well known; and the Books of *Ezra* and *Esther* (e) give us a Testimony of them. And his appealing to those Records for the truth of what he wrote, was the readiest way he could take to gain authority thereto. While he lived in the *Persian* Court, he was employed by the *Grecians*, as their common Solicitor in most of their businesses, which they had there depending; and in this quality *Conon* made use of him in the affair I have mentioned.

(z) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 2. p. 84. & lib. 14. p. 421. (a) *Lib.*
14. p. 421. (b) *Photius* *ibid.* (c) *Aristoteles* in *Historia*
Animalium lib. 8. c. 28. *Plutarchus* in *Artaxerxe*. (d) *Diodo-*
rus Siculus lib. 2. p. 84. (e) *Ezra* iv. 15. *Esther* vi. 1.

This year (f) the *Athenians* put *Socrates* to death for contemning their Gods. He was the Father of the Moral Philosophy of the *Greeks*, and a very excellent person; but finding the Theology of his Countrymen too gross for a wise man to follow he endeavoured to reform it among his Scholars, for which being accused, as one that believed not in the Gods that the City believed, and corrupted the Youth, he was condemned to death for it, and accordingly executed, being then full seventy years old. But afterwards the *Athenians* repenting of it, did put all to death that had an hand in the prosecution that was made against him.

Dercyllidas having made the Truce with *Pharnabazus* that is above-mentioned, marched into *Bithynia*, (ff) and there took up his winter Quarters. While he was there, messengers came to him from *Lacedæmon* to let him know, that his command was continued for another year; and by them he was also acquainted, that it had been desired by the *Grecian* Cities in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, that the *Isthmus* of that *Peninsula* might be fortified with a Wall, to secure them from the *Thracian* Free-booters, who continually made inroads upon them, and laid their Lands waste, so that they were discouraged from manuring them.

And therefore having the next spring again made a Truce with *Pharnabazus* (g) he marched
Anno 398. with his Army into the *Chersonesus* or *Pe-*
Artaxerxes 7. *ninsula* above-mentioned, and there built the Wall, which was desired; within which he included eleven *Grecian* Cities; whereby they being secured from all farther ravages of the Barbarians, thenceforth safely manured their Lands, and in great plenty reaped the fruits of them. On his return into

(f) *Diogenes Laertius* in *Socrate*. *Plato* in *Apologia pro Socrate* & in *Phædone*. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 14. *Stanley's History of Philosophy*, Part. 3. (ff) *Xenophon* *Hell.* lib. 3. (g) *Xenophon* *ibidem*. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 14.

Ionia, after this work was finished, he found that a Company of Banditti having fortified the City of *Atarna* against him, from thence made great depredations on the adjoining Countries; this necessitated him to sit down in a formal Siege before it, which cost him eight months time before he could reduce it.

Pharnabazus, after this second Truce with *Dercyllidas*, (b) made a journey to the *Persian* Court, and there accused *Tissaphernes* to the King, for the Peace which he had made with *Dercyllidas*, blaming him, that whereas he ought to have joined with him, for the driving of those *Grecians* out of *Asia*, he had scandalously bought a peace of them, and thereby contributed to the maintaining of them there at the King's Expences, and to the great damage of his affairs. This no doubt contributed much to the creating of that suspicion in the King, of that great Commander of his, which being afterwards increased by other causes, at length made him resolve on his ruin. And at the same time consultation being had how the mischiefs, which the King suffered from this Invasion of the *Lacedæmonians*, might be best remedied, *Pharnabazus* earnestly pressed him forthwith to equip a great Fleet, and make *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, Admiral of it, who was looked upon as the ablest Commander of his time for a sea war, telling him that hereby he would make himself master of the Seas, and that this would put him in a condition to obstruct the passages of all farther recruits from the *Lacedæmonians* into *Asia*, which would soon put an end to their power in those parts. And *Euagoras* the *Cyprian* having at the same time made the same proposal, and offered his assistance in it, *Artaxerxes* was prevailed upon by their concurrent advice, to resolve upon what they proposed. And therefore having delivered to *Pharnabazus* five hun-

(b) Diodorus Sic. lib. 14. p. 417. Justin. lib. 6. cap. 1. Pausanias in Atticis. Isoerates in Euagora & in Oratione ad Philippum.

dred Talents out of his Treasury, he sent him with orders to get ready such a Fleet as he had advised, and to make *Conon* the Admiral of it. And accordingly *Conon* had his Commission, and all hands were set to work on the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, to make ready the Fleet, that was to be put under his Command.

Dercyllidas, after he had reduced *Atarna*, and set a strong Garrison therein, (i) marched into
Anno 397. *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* had the chief seat
Artaxerxes 8. of his residence. For the *Lacedæmonians* being made believe, that in case he were attacked there, he would, for the saving of that Province, yield to all their demands, they sent special orders to *Dercyllidas* for the making of this Expedition, wherein he had like to have lost all his Army. For *Pharnabazus* having joined *Tissaphernes*, they marched both after him with a great army, and soon had him at such an advantage, that had they made use of it, and immediately fallen on him, they could not have failed of cutting him and all his forces to pieces. *Pharnabazus* was very earnest for making the assault; but *Tissaphernes* having experienced the extraordinary valour of the *Grecian* Troops that followed *Cyrus* to the Battle of *Cunaxa*, dreaded all *Grecians* in arms ever since, thinking all of that Nation to be of the same valour and resolution with those which he had encountered with at that Battle, and therefore could not be brought to hazard any conflict with them; but instead of making use of the opportunity, which he had in his hands of absolutely destroying them, sent *Heralds* to *Dercyllidas*, to invite him to a Parley, in which proposals of peace having been offered on both sides, time was given for each to consult their principals, and in the interim a Truce was agreed on between them. And thus *Dercyllidas* escaped ruin only by the Cowardise of his enemy, when there was nothing else that could have delivered him from it.

(i) Diodorus Sic. ibid. Xenophon Hellen. lib. 3.

One (ij) *Herod a Syracusan*, being in *Phœnicia*, and seeing a great many Ships there anew building, and learning that a great many more were preparing on all the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, to make up a Fleet for some extraordinary Expedition, and supposing it could be only against the *Greeks*, he went on board the first Ship he could meet with, that was bound for *Greece*, and hastening to *Lacedæmon*, informed the *Lacedæmonians* of what was a doing in those parts; at which news they being terrified, and much confounded, as not knowing what course to take, for the preventing of the mischief that was coming upon them, *Lysander* proposed to them the sending *Agefilaus*, who was one of their Kings, into *Asia*, that by making a strong assault there, he might divert the storm, wherever else it was intended. Which advice being approved of, (k) *Agefilaus* was accordingly sent with a great augmentation of Forces into *Asia*, there to take upon him the command, which *Dercyllidas* then had, and prosecute the war with the utmost vigour he could in those parts; and *Lysander* with several others of the principal *Lacedæmonians*, to the number of thirty in all, were sent with him, to assist him with their Counsel in this Expedition. And this whole matter was dispatch'd with that speed and secrecy, that *Agefilaus* arrived at *Ephesus*, before any of the King's Officers had the least intimation of it. So that there being no preparations made to obstruct him, he took the Field as soon as he arrived with ten thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, and bore all before him, wherever he went. Whereon *Tissaphernes* sending to him to know, for what end he came thither, *Agefilaus* answered, that it was to restore the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* to their Liberty;

(ij) Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Agefilao. (k) Plutarchus in Agefilao & Lysandro. Cornelius Nepos in Agefilao. Pausanias in Laconicis. Justin. lib. 6. c. 2. Xenophon ibidem.

hereon a parley being appointed to treat of this matter between them, *Tissaphernes* prayed a Truce, till he should send to the King, and receive his instructions, what to do herein. And accordingly a Truce was agreed, and sworn to on both sides. But *Tissaphernes* having little regard to his Oath, made no other use of this Truce, than to send to the King for more forces; and to gain a respite till they should arrive, was all that he intended by it. For as soon as those Auxiliaries were joined him, he sent to *Agésilas*, to denounce war against him, unless he immediately left the Country; at which the *Lacedæmonians* and Confederates then present were very much concerned, as fearing that the Forces of *Tissaphernes*, now augmented with his new Auxiliaries, might be too much superior to be withstood by theirs, who scarce amounted to a fourth part of their number. But *Agésilas* not being at all moved or dismayed thereat, with a pleasant countenance, bid the Ambassadors, who came with the Message, tell *Tissaphernes*, that he was very much beholden to him, in that by his perjury he had made the Gods enemies to himself, and friends to the *Grecians*. And thereon immediately drawing all his forces together, he made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but as soon as he understood, that he had thereby drawn all the *Persian* Forces into that Province to defend it against him, he turned short, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, a Province of the Government of *Pharnabazus*, and where he had the chief seat of his residence. His coming thither being wholly unexpected, he found nothing there in a posture to resist him, and therefore over-run a great part of the Province without any opposition, till he came to *Dascylium*, the place of *Pharnabazus*'s usual abode, where some of his Horse meeting with a defeat, he marched back by the Sea-Coast into *Ionia*, carrying with him vast spoils gotten in this Expedition, and wintered at *Ephesus*.

Nephereus succeeding *Psammiticus* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, (1) the *Lacedæmonians* sent to him, to solicit his aid in their war against the *Persians*, who thereon presented them with an hundred Gallies for their Sea War, and six hundred thousand Bushels of Corn, for the subsistence of their Forces. At this time *Pharax*, Admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, held the mastery of the Seas, with a Fleet of one hundred and twenty Sail, who hearing at *Rhodes*, where he put in, that *Conon* was with forty Ships at *Caunus*, a City of *Caria*, set sail thither, and besieged him in that place. But an Army of *Persians* coming to his Succour, *Pharax* was forced to raise the siege with disadvantage, and return again to *Rhodes*; whereon *Conon* having augmented his Fleet to the number of eighty Sail, took the Seas and sailed to the *Doric Chersonesus*; but he had not long been there, before he was recalled by the *Rhodians*. For they being weary of the *Lacedæmonians*, for some disorders and insolencies there committed, drove them thence, and sent for *Conon* to protect them, and received him with all his Fleet into their Harbour. While he was there, the Ships which were carrying *Nephereus's* gift of Corn to the *Lacedæmonians*, put in at *Rhodes*, not knowing of the change of the Party which had been there lately made; whereon *Conon* having seized them all, plentifully furnished both his Fleet, and also that City, with the freight they were loaded with. After this he was reinforced with ninety other Ships, which came to him from *Phanicia* and *Cilicia*, whereby he was made much superior to the *Lacedæmonians*, and strong enough to have effected all that was expected from him; but he was hindered by the mutiny of his Soldiers, occasioned for their want of pay, which they, whom the King had intrusted with the care of this matter, fraudulently detained from them.

Anno 395.
Artaxerxes 10.

(1) Diordorus Siculus lib. 14. p. 438. Justin. lib. 6. c. 2.
Orosius lib. 3.

In the interim (*m*) *Agefilaus* coming out of his winter Quarters, prepared to invade the *Persians* in the strongest part of the Country, which they were possessed of in those parts, and accordingly gave out his Orders for his march towards *Sardis*. *Tissaphernes* thinking, that this was intended only to deceive him with another feint, like that of the last year, took it that now he really intended for *Caria*, because he had given out to go another way, and therefore marched into that Province, to defend it against him. But *Agefilaus* now truly acting, as he had given out, led his Army into *Lydia*. *Tissaphernes* hereon recalled his forces from their former rout. But *Caria* being a very rugged Country and unfit for Horse, he had gone thither only with his Foot, leaving his Horse behind upon the borders of that Country, and therefore on their marching back for the relief of *Lydia*, the Horse being much before the Foot, *Agefilaus* took the advantage of falling upon the former, before the latter could come up to their assistance, and thereby having gotten a great victory over them, and taken the *Persian* Camp, he became absolute master of the Field, and having thereon over-run all the Country, brought back from thence vast spoils, with which he enriched both himself and all his Army.

The loss of this Battle, (*n*) very much incensed the King against *Tissaphernes*, and augmented the suspicion, which he had before conceived of him, as if he had other designs, than truly were for his Master's Interest; and *Conon* coming at this time to the *Persian* Court, much heightened the King's Displeasure, by farther Accusations, which he there brought against him. For the depriving the Soldiers of their pay on board *Conon's* Fleet, disabling him from doing the King any service; and he having often in vain wrote to the Court of it, (*o*) at length being en-

(*m*) Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodorus Sic. lib. 14. p. 439. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Agefilao. (*n*) Diodorus ibid. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & Agefilao. Xenophon ibid. (*o*) Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Justin. lib. 6. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438, 439.
courage

couraged thereto by *Pbarnabazus*, and having a Commission from him for this purpose, he went himself to the *Persian* Court then at *Babylon*, and by the means of *Titbraustes* Captain of the Guards, so represented the matter to the King, as procured full redress; and the blame of what had been hitherto done amiss in this matter resting on *Tissaphernes*, this compleated his ruin. For the King forthwith (p) sent *Titbraustes* into the Maritime Provinces of the lower *Asia*, with Orders to put *Tissaphernes* to death, and succeed him in his Government, which he accordingly executed, and sent his head to the King, of which he made a very acceptable present to his Mother, who could never pardon him, for the assistance he gave the King against *Cyrus* her most beloved Son. But this very consideration ought to have moved *Artaxerxes*, not to have dealt thus with him, since to that assistance he owed both his Life and his Crown. But no merit can be sufficient to secure any one, either in his life or fortunes, where arbitrary Will and Pleasure reign without controul, and Princes are at a full loose to execute, whatsoever their groundless suspicions, their extravagant humours, or their wild Capricios may prompt them to.

As soon as *Tissaphernes* was cut off, (q) *Titbraustes* sent to *Agefilaus*, that the King having inflicted due punishment upon him that was the Cause of the War, he ought to be content with it, and return home, promising on this condition to grant full liberty to the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia*, to live according to their own Laws, they paying their usual Tribute to the King, which was all the *Lacedæmonians* desired, when they first began the War. But *Agefilaus* thirsting after greater Conquests, would not hearken hereto, but to put off the matter, referred him to the Magistrates of *Lacedæmon*, telling him he could do nothing

(p) Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 3: Diodor. *ibid*. Polyænus *Stratagem*. lib. 7. Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe* & *Agefilao*. (q) Xenophon *ibid*. Plutarchus in *Agefilao*.

herein without them. However for the price of thirty Talents, paid him by *Titbraustes*, the storm was diverted from his Provinces, and *Agésilau*s ordered his Army to prepare for a march into *Pbrygia*.

But while he was making ready for this war, (r) a new commission came to him from *Lacedæmon*, where by he was made Generalissimo of their Fleet, as well as of their Armies, and had all their Forces in *Asia*, both by Sea and Land, put under his Command, that by thus having the entire direction of the whole war, he might conduct it with a greater Uniformity for the good of the State. This drew him down to the Sea-Coast, to take care of the Fleet, which having put in good Order, he made *Pisander* his Wife's Brother Admiral of it, and sent it to Sea under his Command. And in this it is certain he was more influenced by private affection to his Brother-in-law, or some other by-end of his own, than by that due regard which he ought to have had for the publick good of the State. For altho' *Pisander* were a man of valour, and great courage, yet he was in other respects no way adequate to that Trust, as the event afterwards sufficiently proved.

*Agésilau*s having thus settled the Sea affairs, (s) pursued his designs of invading *Pbrygia*, where having taken several Cities, and made great wastes and depredations in the Province, he passed on into *Papblagonia*, being invited thither by *Spitbridates* a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the King. Where having made a League with *Gotys* the King of that Country, and married the daughter of *Spitbridates* to him, he returned into *Pbrygia*, and taking the City of *Dascylium* there wintered in the Palace of *Pbarnabazus*, and fed his Army with the Spoils, which he there got from the circumjacent Country.

Titbraustes (t) seeing that *Agésilau*s was for carry-

(r) Pausanias in Laconicis. Xenophon & Plutarchus ibidem.

(s) Plutarchus in Agefilao. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. (t) Pausanias in Laconicis & Messenicis. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus in Agefilao & Artaxerxe.

ing on the war in *Asia*, to divert him from it sent Emissaries into *Greece*, with large Sums of money to corrupt the leading men in the chief Cities, and thereby induce them to rekindle a war in *Greece* against the *Lacedæmonians*, that so *Agésilas* might be called home to defend his own Country; which had that effect, that *Thebes*, *Athens*, *Argus* and *Corinth*, with other Cities of *Greece*, entring into a Confederacy together, raised such a war against the *Lacedæmonians*, as produced all that was intended by *Tithraustes* in his Stratagem, as will by and by be related in its proper place. And the putting of the people of the same Nation and Interest together by the Ears, hath elsewhere been found the most successful means, to advance the interest of a Neighbouring Tyrant. And Money will never fail of this effect, where there are minds corrupted with vice, luxury, and irreligion to prepare men for it.

In the beginning of the next Spring, *Agésilas* being ready to take the Field, (u) a Parley was procured between him and *Pharnabazus*, at which *Pharnabazus* having recited the great Services which he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, and reproached them with the ill requital they had returned him for it, especially in the devastations which they had made in his Palace, Park, Gardens, and Estate at *Dascylium*, that were his own proper inheritance; and all this being truths which could not be denied, *Agésilas* and his *Lacedæmonian* Council that attended him at the conference, were so confounded at it, that they wanted an answer to excuse the ingratitude, which they were charged with. However, to make him the best amends they could, they made him a solemn Promise, that they would no more invade him, nor any of the Provinces under his Government, as long as there were any else, against whom they might prosecute the war, which they

Anno 394.
Artaxerxes II.

(u) Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4.

had with the *Persian* King: And then immediately withdrew out of those parts, and thereon formed a design of invading the upper provinces of *Asia*, and carrying the war into the very heart of the *Persian* Empire. But (w) while *Agefilaus* was projecting this Expedition, there came Messengers to him from *Lacedæmon*, to recall him thither. For the *Persian* Money having procured a very strong confederacy of several of the *Grecian* States and Cities against them, they needed him at home to defend his own Country; and accordingly he made all the haste thither that he could, complaining at his departure out of *Asia*, that the *Persians* had driven him thence by thirty thousand Archers, meaning so many *Darics*, which were pieces of Gold that had the impression of an Archer upon them; but so small a Sum did not do this job, it cost the *Persians* much more, and they could not have bestowed their Money better to their own advantage. For hereby they saved vastly greater expences, which otherwise they must have been at in the war, had they not this way got rid of it. And there are instances of other crafty Princes, who by following the same methods have gained the same Success, and in the way of Bribery and Corruption have done that by hundreds of Pounds in the Councils of their adversaries, which they could never bring to pass by Millions, in the open Field.

Conon, on his return from the *Persian* Court, (x) having brought money enough with him, to pay the Soldiers and Mariners of his Fleet all their Arrears, and supply it with every thing else that was wanting, took *Pharnabazus* on board him, and forthwith set sail to seek the enemy; and finding their whole Fleet riding near *Cnidus*, under the Command of *Pisander*,

(w) Plutarchus in *Agefilao* & *Artaxerxe*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. Cornelius Nepos in *Agefilao*. Diodorus Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Justin. lib. 6. cap. 4. (x) Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. Justin. lib. 6. c. 3. Cornelius Nepos in *Conone*. Diodorus Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Isocrates in *Euagora* & in *Oratione ad Philippum*.

he fell upon them, and obtained a complete victory, having slain *Pisander* himself in the fight, and taken fifty of his Ships, which did put an end to the Empire of the *Lacedæmonians* in those parts, and was a prelude to their losing it every where else. For after this it continued to decline, till at length the overthrows, which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantineæ*, put an absolute period to it. But it is not my purpose to treat of what was done in *Greece* any farther, than as the affairs of *Greece* interfere with what is the main design of this History.

After (y) this victory, *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* sailed round the Isles and Maritime Coasts of *Asia*, and took in most of the Cities which the *Lacedæmonians* had in those parts, only *Sestus* and *Abydus*, two Cities in the Mouth of the *Hellepont*, being under the command of *Dercyllidas*, held out against them; whereon *Pharnabazus* assaulted them by Land, and *Conon* by Sea, but not succeeding in the attempt, *Pharnabazus* on the approach of winter returned home, and *Conon* was left to take care of the Fleet, with Orders to recruit and augment it, with as many Ships from the Cities on the *Hellepont*, as he could get from them against the next Spring.

And *Conon* having, according to this Commission, gotten ready a strong Fleet of Ships by the time appointed, (z) *Pharnabazus* went on board it, and sailing through the Islands, landed on *Melos* the furthest of them, and having taken in that Island, as lying convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the Country of the *Lacedæmonians*, they from thence made a descent upon its Maritime Coasts, and having ravaged them all over, loaded their Fleet with the Spoils, which they there got. After this *Pharnabazus* being on his return

Anno 393.
Artaxerxes 12.

(y) Xenophon Hellen. lib. 4. Diodorus Sic. lib. 14. p. 441.
(z) Xenophon & Diodorus Sic. ibid.

home into his Province, (a) *Conon* obtained of him to send him with eighty Ships of the Fleet, and fifty Talents of Money, to rebuild the Walls of *Athens*, having made him to understand, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down the Pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, than by this means to put *Athens* again in a condition to rival their power. And therefore being arrived at *Piræus*, the Port of *Athens*, he immediately set about the work, and having gotten together a great number of workmen, and made all that could be spared from on board the Fleet, as well as the People of the City, to set to their helping hand, he rebuilt both the Walls of *Athens*, and the Walls of the Port, with the Walls also called the long Walls, leading from the former to the latter, and distributed the fifty Talents, which he had received from *Pharnabazus*, among his Citizens, whereby he restored that City again to its pristin State, and may on this account be reckoned as the second founder of it.

The *Lacedæmonians* being exceedingly moved at the hearing of this, forthwith dispatched *Antalcidas* a Citizen of theirs to *Tiribazus*, then Governor for the *Persian* King at *Sardis*, to propose Terms of Peace. And the confederates on the other hand, on notice hereof, sent their Ambassadors thither also, and among them *Conon* was one from the City of *Athens*. The Terms (b) which *Antalcidas* proposed were, that the King should have all the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia*, and that all the rest, both in the Isles and in *Greece*, should be restored to their liberty, and be governed by their own Laws. Which being a Peace that would be very advantageous to the King, and very disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, none of the other Ambassadors would consent

(a) Cornelius Nepos in *Conone*. Plutarchus in *Agefilao*. Justin. lib. 6. c. 5. Isocrates in *Euagora*. Xenophon & Diodorus *ibid*. Pausanias in *Atticis*. (b) Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. Plutarchus in *Agefilao*.

to it. And therefore they all returned without effecting any thing, excepting *Conon*. For the *Lacedæmonians* bearing an implacable spite to him for what he had done in the restoration of *Athens*, accused him of purloining the King's money for the carrying on of that work, and also of having designs for the taking of *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and subjecting them again to the *Athenian* state; whereon (c) *Tiribazus* clapped him in chains, and then going to the *Persian* Court to communicate to the King the proceedings of this Treaty, he acquainted him also of the accusation which he had received against *Conon*; hereon *Conon* being ordered to be brought to *Susa* (d) was there put to death by the King's command.

While *Tiribazus* was attending the Court, (e) *Struthas* was sent down from thence to take care of the maritime coasts of *Asia*; where finding the great devastations which the *Lacedæmonians* had made in those parts, he conceived from hence such an aversion against them, as carried him wholly over to the *Athenian* side. Whereon the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Thymbro* into *Asia* again to renew the war there, but they not being able at that time to furnish him with strength sufficient for the undertaking, he was soon cut off by the superior power of the *Persians*, and all his forces broken and dissipated. After him *Depbri-das* came thither to gather up the remains of this Army, and carry on the war; and after him others were sent with the same Commission. But all their doings in *Asia* after the Battle of *Cnidus* were only as faint strugglings of a dying power, and therefore they were forced at length to give up all there, when they could no longer hold it, by a Treaty of Peace, which was very disadvantageous, as well as very dishonourable to all that were of the *Grecian* name.

Anno 392.
Artaxerxes 13.

(c) Xenophon. *ibid.* Diodorus Sic. lib. 14. p. 442. Cornelius Nepos in *Conone*. (d) Cornelius Nepos *ibid.* Isocrates in *Panegyrico*.

(e) Xenophon *ibid.* Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 447.

And therefore *Artaxerxes* being in a manner almost wholly eased of the *Grecian* war, (f) turned his whole power against *Euagoras* King of *Cyprus*, and began a war against him, which he had long designed, but was not till now at leisure to prosecute it. How *Euagoras* seized *Salamine* by expelling the *Persian* Governor, and made himself King of that City, and procured by the means of *Conon* to be confirmed herein by *Artaxerxes*, I have already given an account. But *Euagoras* being a Man every way qualified for great undertakings, in a little time so enlarged his strength and his power, that he made himself in a manner King of the whole Island of *Cyprus*. The *Amathusians*, the *Solians*, and the *Citians* were those only, that held out against him; and *Artaxerxes* becoming jealous of the growing power of this active and wise Prince first countenanced them herein, and afterwards openly embraced their cause, and declared war against *Euagoras*, in which *Isocrates* tells us he expended above fifty thousand Talents, which may be reckoned at ten Millions of our Money.

The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the alliance they now had with the *Persians*, and the benefits they had lately received from them, (g) would not deny their assistance to *Euagoras*, who had much befriended them, especially in the kind reception, which those, who fled with *Conon* from the battle of the *Goats* River, had found with him; and perchance their resentments against the King for the death of that Gallant *Athenian* their Restorer, did not a little move them to this resolution. And therefore they forthwith equipped ten ships of war, and sent them to the aid of *Euagoras* under the command of *Philocrates*. But a Fleet which the *Lacedæmonians* had at Sea under the command of *Telautias* the Brother of *Agefilaus*, falling in with them

(f) *Isocrates* in *Euagora*. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 15. p. 458.

(g) *Xenophon* *Hellenic*. lib. 4.

in the Isle of *Rhodes*, took them all; whereby it came to pass, that those who were Enemies to the King of *Persia*, destroyed those who were going from his Friends to make war against him.

Achoris succeeding *Psammitichus* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, (*b*) *Euagoras* drew him and also the *Barceans*, a People of *Libya*, into confederacy with him against the *Persians*; and all of them engaged in conjunction together to carry on the war with vigour against them.

Anno 389.
Artaxerxes 16.

Philocrates having miscarried in his attempt of carrying succours to *Euagoras*, in manner as hath been related, the *Athenians* (*i*) sent *Chabrias* into the same service with another Fleet and a good number of Land forces on board of it, who arriving safe in *Cyprus*, managed the war with that success, that he reduced the whole Island under the power of *Euagoras*, before he again left it; which redounded much to the honour of his own Conduct, and also to that of the *Athenian* Arms.

Anno 388.
Artaxerxes 17.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding themselves hardly pressed by the confederacy of the *Grecian* Cities against them, became desirous of a Peace with the *Persian* King, and (*ij*) appointed

Anno 387.
Artaxerxes 18.

Antalcidas again to treat with *Tiribazus* about it; and resolving to make it on such Terms, as should necessarily engage that potent Monarch on their side, instructed their Ambassador accordingly; and having made him Admiral of their Fleet, under that blind sent him with it into *Asia* to transact this matter. On his arrival at *Ephesus*, having appointed *Nicolochus* his Lieutenant to take care of the Fleet, he went to *Sardis*, and there communicated to *Tiribazus* the Commission, on which he was sent. But *Tiribazus* having no powers to enter into such a Treaty, instead of

(*b*) Theopompus in Excerptis Photii. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 459.
(*i*) Cornelius Nepos in Chabria. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 5. (*ij*) Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 5. Plutarchus in Agesilao & Artaxerxe. Isocrates in Panathenaico. Diodorus Sic. lib. 14. p. 452, 453. Justin. lib. 6. cap. 6:

sending for orders about it from the *Persian* Court, they both went thither, where on their arrival the matter was soon concluded. For *Artaxerxes* being at that time as much desirous of a Peace as the *Lacedæmonians*, that so he might be the better at leisure to prosecute the *Cyprian* War, which he had then his heart much set upon, greedily accepted of the proposal upon the Scheme which *Antalcidas* offered. And accordingly peace was made thereupon. The Terms of it were, That all the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia*, with the Islands of (k) *Clazomenæ* and *Cyprus*, should be under the power of the *Persian* King; and that all the other Cities of *Greece*, and the Isles, as well small as great, should be free, and wholly left to be governed by their own Laws, except the Islands of *Scirus*, *Lemnus*, and *Imbrus*, which having been anciently subject to the *Athenians*, should still continue so to be; and that *Artaxerxes* should join with the *Lacedæmonians*, and all others that accepted of this Peace, to make all the rest of *Greece* submit thereto. Which Peace being ratified under the Seal of King *Artaxerxes*, *Tiribazus* and *Antalcidas* returned with it, and caused it to be proclaimed in all the Cities of *Greece*. Hereby the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* finding themselves betrayed by the *Lacedæmonians*, were forced to submit; and scarce any other of the *Grecian* states were pleased therewith, it being very disadvantageous to many of them, and dishonourable to all. The *Athenians* and *Thebans* of all others were the most dissatisfied with it. But not being able alone to cope with the *Persians*, now joined with the *Lacedæmonians* their Allies to see it executed, were forced for a while to acquiesce therein. And it was not long that the *Lacedæmonians* themselves were well pleased with it; but at this time being pressed on the one hand by the *Persians*, and on the other hand by the confederacy of the *Grecian* Cities against them, and not being able to with-

(k) The City of *Clazomenæ* then stood on an Island, but afterwards that Island was joined to the Continent in the same manner as were the Islands of *Tyros* and *Pharus*. Strabo lib. 1. p. 58.

stand both, they had no other way to extricate themselves from the ruin which seemed to threaten them, than by making this Peace. For hereby they engaged the *Persians* into an Alliance with them, and by virtue thereof made all the confederated Cities of *Greece* desist from that war, which they were preparing against them; and by this means they saved themselves from the present danger, but at the same time they betrayed the common interest of *Greece*, and also their own, as far as it was involved in it. And *Antalcidas* at last met with his ruin from it. For the (l) *Lacedæmonians* after the blow they had received from the *Thebans* at *Leuctra* needing the assistance of the *Persian* power to support them, and being made believe that *Antalcidas* could do every thing at that Court since the making of this Peace, sent him thither to solicit for money to help to bear them up in that distress. But King *Artaxerxes* finding his Interest no way concerned in this proposal, as it was in the former, rejected it with scorn and contempt. And therefore being sent away without success, either out of shame for being thus disappointed, or out of fear of the resentments of his Fellow-Citizens for his failing in this Negotiation of what they expected from it, he furnished himself, and so put an end to his life. This Peace (m) *Polybius*, (n) *Trogus Pompeius*, (o) *Diodorus Siculus*, and (p) *Strabo*, tell us, was made in the same year that *Rome* was taken by the *Galls*. It was called from the Author of it the Peace of *Antalcidas*, but it was not with any Honour, but rather with Infamy to his name; because of the prejudice and dishonour which it brought with it to all *Greece*.

The *Athenians*, on their accepting of this Peace, were forced to call home *Chabrias* out of *Cyprus*; and (q) *Artaxerxes*, now freed of all trouble from the *Greeks*, bent his whole force against *Euagoras* King of that Island.

Anno 386.
Artaxerxes 19.

(l) Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. (m) Lib. 1. (n) Justin. lib. 6. c. 6. (o) Lib. 4. (p) Lib. 6. (q) Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

For having drawn together an Army of three hundred thousand Men, and a Fleet of three hundred Sail, he made *Gaus* the son of *Tamus* (who hath been before spoken of) Admiral of the Fleet, and *Orontes* one of his sons-in-law General of the Army, and *Tiribazus* Generalissimo over both, and sent them to invade *Cyprus*; and accordingly they landed this great army on that Island for the reducing of it. *Euagoras* being pressed with so great a power, strengthened himself for the war the best he could, having drawn into Confederacy with him the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other Nations, who were then at enmity with the *Persians*; and with his money, of which he had amassed a vast Treasure, he hired a great number of Mercenaries out of all places wherever he could get them, which all together made a very numerous army. And he also got together a considerable Fleet of Ships. These at first he sent out in Parties to intercept the tenders and victuallers, which brought Provisions to the *Persian* Army from the Continent, which in few days reduced them to that distress, that the Soldiers mutinied, and slew many of their Officers and Commanders, for their want of bread. For the remedying of this their whole Fleet was forced to set to Sea to fetch provisions from *Cilicia*, whereby the Army being plentifully supplied, an end was put to the mutiny. In the interim *Euagoras* received a great supply of Corn from *Egypt*, and fifty Sail of Ships, which with others that he fitted up at home, making up his Fleet to two hundred sail, he adventured with them to engage the whole naval Force of the *Persians*, though in strength and number much superior to him. He had fought a Part of the *Persian* Army, and gained the Victory, and being flush'd with this and some other Advantages, which he had obtained at Land, he was emboldened hereby to make this attempt upon them by Sea. But here he had not the same success. In the first onset he had the advantage, and took or destroyed several of their Ships. But *Gaus* at length
having

having brought up his whole Fleet into the fight, his valour and his conduct bore all before him, and drove *Euagoras* out of the Seas with the loss of the greatest part of his Fleet; with the remainder he escaped to *Salamine*, where the *Persians* after this victory shut him up in a close Siege both by Sea and Land, and *Tiribazus* went to the *Persian* Court with the news of this success, and having there obtained two thousand Talents for the use of the Army, he returned with them farther to carry on the war. During his absence, *Euagoras* to relieve himself in the distress he was reduced to, got through the Enemies Fleet in the night with ten Ships and sailed for *Egypt*, leaving *Protagoras* his Son to manage all affairs in his absence. His end in this voyage was to engage *Acoris* to join his whole power with him for the raising of this Siege.

But failing in the main of what he there expected, (r) he was sent back only with some supplies of Money, which were far short of what he needed to relieve him in his present distress; and therefore being returned to *Salamine*, and got again into the place by the favour of the night in the same manner as he came out, and finding himself deserted by his Allies, and destitute of all other helps for the raising of the Siege, he sent to *Tiribazus* to treat of Peace, but could be allowed no other Terms, than to be divested of all that he had in *Cyprus*, excepting the City of *Salamine* only, and to hold that of the King as a Servant of his Lord, and pay him Tribute for it. However considering the necessity of his affairs, he yielded to all this, excepting only the holding of *Salamine* as a Servant under his Lord; he desired it might be as a King under a King. But *Tiribazus* not consenting to this, the war went on. In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the Land Army, not brooking the superiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being

Anno 385:
Artaxerxes 20.

(r) Diodor. ibid.

Generalissimo and having the chief conduct of the whole war; and envying also the success which he had in it, and the honour which he had gotten thereby, wrote secretly calumniating Letters to the King, accusing him of having secret designs against the King's Interest, and that for this purpose he held private correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*, and had causelessly procrastinated the War, and admitted a Treaty with *Euagoras*, when it was in his power to have suppressed him by force, and by courting the affection of the Officers and Commanders of the Army, had engaged them all to him for the promoting of his hidden purposes; whereon he was taken into custody by order from the King, and sent Prisoner to the Court, and *Orontes* had the chief command conferred on him, which was the thing he desired, as what he thought belonged to him, much rather than to the other, as being the King's Son-in-law. But the Army being very much dissatisfied with the Change, things went very heavily on under his conduct. For all his Orders through this discontent of the Soldiery were very negligently executed, and the Enemy recovered Courage and Strength hereby; so that at length *Orontes* was forced to renew the Treaty with *Euagoras*, for which he had accused his Predecessor, and concluded it upon Terms, which the other had refused. For he consented, that he should hold *Salamine* of the King of *Persia*, as King of that City, yielding only Tribute to him for it. So Peace was made with *Euagoras*, but this did not put an end to the war in those parts. For (s) *Gaus* taking ill the unjust usage of *Tiribazus*, whose daughter he had married, and fearing that this affinity might involve him also in the same prosecution, he entered into a Confederacy with the *Egyptians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, and revolted from the King, and a great part both of the Fleet and Army joined with him herein. The *Lacedæmonians* entered gladly into

(s) Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

this Confederacy, because of the dislike which they now had of the Peace of *Antalcidas*. For by this time discerning all the disadvantages of it, especially the ill consequence which it had in alienating the affections of all the other *Greeks* from them, because of the dishonour, as well as the damages, which it brought with it to all the *Grecian* name, they would for the redeeming of this fault, and the recovery of the credit, which they lost by it, have gladly laid hold of this opportunity of again renewing the war with the *Persians*. But *Gaus* the next year after, when he had brought his matters in some measure to bear, being treacherously slain by some that were under him, and *Tachos*, who set himself up to carry on the same design, soon dying, the whole of it fell to nothing, and after this the *Lacedæmonians* no more meddled with the the *Asian* affairs.

Artaxerxes having thus finished the *Cyprian* war, (t) led an Army of three hundred thousand Foot and ten thousand Horse against the *Cadusians*. But the Country, by reason of its barrenness, not affording Provisions enough to feed so large an Army, he had like to have lost them all for want thereof, but that *Tiribazus* extricated him from this danger. He followed the King in this expedition, or rather was led with the Court in it as a Prisoner, being in great disgrace because of *Orontes's* Accusation; and having received information, that whereas the *Cadusians* had two Kings, they did not act in a thorough concert together, by reason of the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he proposed to *Artaxerxes* the bringing of them to submission by a Treaty; and having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the King's, and sent his Son to the other, and so ordered the matter, that making each of them believe, that the other was treating separately with the King,

Anno 384.
Artaxerxes 21.

(t) Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 462.

brought both separately to submit to him, and so saved him and all his Army. These People (*u*) inhabited some part of the mountainous Country, which lies between the *Euxin* and the *Caspian* Seas to the North of *Media*, where (*w*) they having neither seed-time nor harvest, liv'd mostly upon Apples and Pears, and other such Tree-Fruits, the Land by reason of its ruggedness and unfertility not being capable of Tillage. And this was that which brought the *Persians* into such distress, when they invaded them, the Country not being capable of affording Provisions for so great an Army. Fuller (*x*) hath a conceit, that these *Cadusians* were the descendants of the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes, which the Kings of *Assyria* carried Captive out of the Land of *Canaan*; but his reason for it being only, that he thinks they were called *Cadusians* from the Hebrew word *Kedushim*, which signifieth *Holy People*, this is not foundation enough to build such an assertion upon. It would have been a better argument for this purpose, had he urged for it, that (*y*) the *Colchians* and neighbouring Nations are said anciently to have used Circumcision. For not far from the *Colchians* was the Country of the *Cadusians*.

Artaxerxes lost a great number of Men in this ill-projected Expedition; among others who perished in it was *Camissares*, by Nation a *Carian*, and a very gallant Man. He was Governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a Province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was on his death succeeded therein by *Datames* his Son, who was also with *Artaxerxes* in this Expedition, and did him great Service in it, for the reward of which he had his Father's Government conferred on him. He was for valour and military skill the *Hannibal* of those times. *Cornelius Nepos* hath given us his life at large, by which it appears no man ever

(*u*) Strabo lib. 11. p. 507, 508, 510, 523, 524. (*w*) Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. (*x*) Miscel. lib. 2. c. 5. (*y*) Herodotus lib. 2. Diodorus Sic. lib. 1.

exceeded him in Stratagems of War, or in the valour and activity by which he executed them. But these eminent qualities raised that envy against him in the *Persian* Court, as at last caused his ruin ; as it hath been the fate of too many Gallant Men to have been thus undone by their own merit.

On the King's return to *Susa*, the Service which *Tiribazus* did him in this Expedition (z) procured him a fair hearing of his cause, and it having been thoroughly examined before indifferent Judges appointed by the King for it, he was found innocent and honourably discharged ; and *Orontes* his accuser was condemned of calumny, and with disgrace banished the Court, and put out of the King's favour for it.

Artaxerxes being now free from all other wars, resolved on the reducing of the *Egyptians*, they having freed themselves from the yoke of the *Persians*, and stood out in revolt against them now full thirty-six years ; and (a) accordingly he made great preparations for it. *Acoris* foreseeing the Storm, provided against it the best he could, having armed not only his own Subjects, but drawn also a great number of *Greeks* and other Mercenaries into his service, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*. *Pbarnabazus* having the care of this war committed to his charge, sent Ambassadors to *Athens* to make complaint against *Chabrias* for engaging in this service against the King, threatening them with the loss of the King's friendship, unless he were forthwith recalled. And at the same time he demanded *Iphicrates* another *Athenian*, and the ablest General of his time, to be sent to him to take on him the Command of the Mercenary *Greeks* in the *Persian* Army for this war. The *Athenians* at that time much depending on the favour of the *Persian* King, for the support of their affairs at home, amid the broils which they had with the other Cities

Anno 377.
Artaxerxes 28.

(z) Diodorus Siculus p. 463. (a) Diodorus Siculus lib. 15.
p. 471. Cornelius Nepos in Chabria & Iphicrate.

of Greece, readily complied with both these demands. For they immediately recalled *Chabrias*, setting him a day for his return, and at the same time sent *Iphicrates* into the *Persian* Army, to take on him the charge he was designed for. On his arrival, he having mustered his men, applied himself to exercise them in all the Arts of war, in which he made them so expert, that thenceforth under the name of *Iphicratean* Soldiers, they became as famous among the *Greeks*, as formerly the *Fabian* were among the *Romans* for the same reason. And they had time enough before they entered on action, to grow up hereto, by the instruction that was given them.

For the *Persians* being very slow in their preparations, it was two years after ere the war commenced; in the interim died *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, and was succeeded (b) by *Psammuthis* in that Kingdom, who reigned only one year.

Anno 376.

Artaxerxes 29.

After *Psammuthis*, reigned in *Egypt* (c) *Nepherites* the last of the *Mendesian* race in that Kingdom. For after a reign of four Months he was succeeded by *Nectanabis*, the first of the *Sebennite* Race, who reigned twelve years.

Anno 375.

Artaxerxes 30.

Artaxerxes, that he might the easier get *Grecian* Auxiliaries for his *Egyptian* war, sent Ambassadors into *Greece*, to put an end to all war there, requiring that all the different States and Cities in that Country should live in peace with each other, upon the Terms of the Peace of *Antalcidas*, and that all Garrisons being withdrawn, all should be left to enjoy their liberty, and be governed according to their own Laws. This proposal was readily accepted by all the Cities of *Greece*, excepting the *Thebans*, who having then in view the gaining the Empire over all, were the only *Grecian* People that refused to comply herewith.

(b) Eusebius in Chronico. Syncellus, p. 257. in Chronico.

(c) Eusebius

All things being now ready for the *Egyptian* war, (d) the *Persian* Army was all drawn together at *Ace*, afterwards called *Ptolemais*, and now *Acon*, in *Palestine*; and were there mustered to be two hundred thousand *Persians*, under the Command of *Pharnabazus*, and twenty thousand *Grecian* Mercenaries under the Command of *Ipbicrates*; and their Forces by Sea were proportionable hereto. For their Fleet consisted of three hundred Gallies, and two hundred Ships, besides a vast number of Victuallers and Tenders, which followed to furnish both the Fleet and Army with all things necessary. At the same time the Army marched by Land, the Fleet set also to Sea, that so they might the better act in concert with each other, for the carrying on of the War. The first attempt which they made, was upon *Pelusium*. Their design was to besiege it by Sea and Land; but the *Persians* having been long in preparing for this War, gave *Nectanabis* time enough to provide for the defence of the place, which he did so effectually, that they could not come at it either by Land or Sea. And therefore their Fleet, instead of making a descent at this place, as was first intended, sailed from thence to the *Mendesian* Mouth of the *Nile*. For that River then discharged itself into the *Mediterranean* by seven Mouths (tho' now there are but (e) two) each of these was guarded by a Fortrefs and a Garrison; but the *Mendesian* Mouth not being so well fortified against them, as the *Pelusian*, because they were not here expected, they easily landed at this place, and as easily took the Fortrefs which guarded it, destroying all those who were there set for its defence. After this action *Ipbicrates* advised, that they should immediately have sailed up the *Nile* to *Memphis*, the Capital of *Egypt*. And had they followed his advice before the *Egyptians* had recovered from the Con-

Anno 374.
Artaxerxes 31.

(d) Diodorus Siculus lib. 15. p. 478. Cornelius Nepos in Ipbicrate.
(e) That is Damietta and Rosetta.

sternation,

sternation, which this powerful invasion and the first success thereof had put them into, they would have found the place wholly unprovided for its defence, and therefore must have certainly taken it, and with it all *Egypt* must again have fallen under their power. But the main of the Army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would not engage till he had gotten all his strength together, thinking that then his power would be invincible, and he must necessarily carry all before him. But *Iphicrates* rightly judging, that by that time the opportunity would be lost, pressed hard for leave to attempt the place with the Mercenaries only, that were under his Command. But *Pharnabazus* envying him the honour, which would redound to him from hence, should he succeed in the enterprise, would not hearken to the Proposal. In the interim, the *Egyptians* having gotten all their Forces together, and put a sufficient Guard into *Memphis*, with the rest took the Field, and so harassed the *Persians*, that they kept them from making any farther progress, till at length (f) the *Nile* in its proper season overflowing all the Country, forced them to withdraw again into *Phœnicia*, with the loss of a great part of their Army. And so this Expedition, in which were expended such vast Sums of Treasure, and so much time in preparing for it, all miscarried and came to nothing. This produced

(f) The Nature of this River is to be six months a rising, and six months a falling; and when it is at the height, it doth for two months together overflow the whole Country, and then there is no marching or encamping of an Army in any part of it. This is caused by the rains which for six months together fall in the upper parts of *Ethiopia*, where the rise of the *Nile* is. These rains begin to fall in April, and continue till October, and send great floods into the *Nile*, which beginning to reach *Egypt* in the May following do there cause this rising or increase of the *Nile*, which from thence continues to rise higher and higher till the beginning of October following, and then it again falls in the same gradual manner as it rose, till the April following. The months of the overflow are August and September, and some part of October. It must rise sixteen Cubits to make a fertile year; but sometimes it riseth to three and twenty. If it riseth no higher than twelve or thirteen Cubits, a famine followeth in that Country.

great

great dissensions between the two Generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of this miscarriage upon *Ipbicrates*; and *Ipbicrates* with much more reason on *Pharnabazus*. But *Ipbicrates* being aware, that *Pharnabazus* would be believed before him at the *Persian* Court, and remembring the case of *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a Ship, and got safely away to *Athens*. Hereon *Pharnabazus* sent Ambassadors after him, to accuse him of making this Expedition into *Egypt* miscarry, to which the *Athenians* gave only this answer: That if he were found guilty of this, they would punish him for it according to his demerit. But it seems they were so far convinced of his innocency as to this matter, that they never called him to a Trial for it; and a little while after they made him sole Admiral of their whole Fleet.

That which made most of the Expeditions of the *Persians* under this Empire miscarry, was their slowness in the Execution of their designs. For the Generals having nothing left to their own discretion, but being in all things strictly tied up to Orders, durst not proceed on any emergency without instructions from Court, and usually before these could arrive the opportunity was lost. And this was signally the case in this war. And therefore *Ipbicrates* observing *Pharnabazus* to be very quick in his Resolves, and very slow in the Execution of them, and having thereon asked him, how it came to pass that he was so forward in his Words, and so backward in his Actions, (g) had the whole truth told him in this memorable answer: That his Words were his own, but his Actions wholly depended on his Master. And many like instances may be given, wherein noble opportunities of acting great things for the good of the publick have been wholly lost, by too straitly tying up the hands of those who are to execute them.

(g) Diodorus Siculus lib. 15. p. 478.

The same year that these things were done in *Egypt*, (b) *Euagoras* King of *Salamine*, in the Island of *Cyprus*, being murdered by one of his Eunuchs, *Nicocles* his son reigned in his stead, and is the same for whose sake two of *Isocrates's* Orations were composed, and they still bear the Title of his name. In the first of these, is proposed the duty of a King to his Subjects; in the second, the duty of Subjects to their King; for which *Nicocles* gave him (i) twenty talents; i. e. 3750 pound of our money.

The (k) next year after, which was the thirty second of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Joiada* the High-Priest of the *Jews* being dead, (l) *Johanan* his son, called also (m) *Jonathan*, succeeded him in his Office, and held it thirty two years.

Artaxerxes (n) again sent Ambassadors into *Greece*, to exhort the States and Cities, which were there at war with each other, to lay down their Arms, and come to an accord upon the Terms of the Peace which he had made with *Antalcidas*. All expressed a readiness to submit hereto, except the *Thebans*. That which made them at that time dissent was, that by that Peace it was provided, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be left to enjoy their own Liberties, and be governed according to their own Laws. Upon this Article, the *Lacedæmonians* pressed the *Thebans* to set all the Cities of *Bæotia* free, and to rebuild *Plataea* and *Thespia*, two Cities of that Country, which they had demolished, and restore them again to the former Inhabitants, with the Territories appertaining to them. And on the other side, the *Thebans* retorting upon the *Lacedæmonians* the same Argument, pressed them to per-

(b) *Aristoteles Politic. lib. 5. cap. 10.* *Theopompus in Bibliotheca Photii, N. 176.* (i) *Plutarchus in vita Isocratis.* (k) *Chronicon Alexandrinum.* (l) *Nehemiah xii. 22. & xiii. 28.*

(m) *Nehemiah xii. 11.* (n) *Diodorus Siculus lib. 15. p. 483.* *Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 6.*

mit all the Towns of *Laconia* to enjoy their Liberties, and restore *Messena* to its ancient Owners. For they urged, that the Articles of the Peace insisted on did as much require the one as the other; and that therefore if the *Lacedæmonians* would not execute this Article on their part, neither would they on theirs. But the *Lacedæmonians*, not being sufficiently humbled by the loss of their Fleet at *Cnidus*, would not understand this way of arguing, but looking on themselves still as much superior to the *Thebans*, would have them submit to that, which they would not do themselves; and therefore sent an army against them, to force them to it, which produced the Battle at *Leuctra*, (o) in which the *Lacedæmonians* were overthrown, with the loss of *Cleombrotus* one of their Kings, and above four thousand of their Citizens; which was the greatest blow they had received in many ages past. For it brought the *Thebans* in pursuit of this victory into *Laconia*, which they wasted all over, even home to the City of *Lacedæmon* itself, where they had not seen an enemy in five hundred years before, and it was with difficulty, that they preserved this their Capital from falling under the same devastation.

The *Lacedæmonians* being brought to this distress, (p) sent *Agésilas* into *Egypt*, and *Antalcidas* to the *Persian* Court, to solicit for Succours. But the *Lacedæmonians* since their overthrow at *Leuctra*, becoming contemptible to the *Persians*, *Antalcidas* had that ill success in his Embassy, as caused him to put an end to his life, in the manner as hath been above related.

Anno 370.
Artaxerxes 35.

However, this Embassy prevailed so far with *Artaxerxes*, that *Philiscus of Abydos* (q) was by his order the next year after sent into *Greece*, to endeavour the composing of

Anno 369.
Artaxerxes 36.

(o) Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Xenophon ibid. Plutarchus in Pelopida. Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda & Pelopida. (p) Plutarchus in Agésilao & Artaxerxe. (q) Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 7. Diodorus Siculus lib. 15. p. 494.

the wars, which were there risen, and the bringing of all to peace upon the Terms agreed on by *Antalcidas*. But the *Lacedæmonians* refusing to consent that *Messena* should enjoy its Liberty (to which it had been restored by the *Thebans* in their late Expedition into *Peloponnesus*, after the Battle of *Leuctra*) and the *Thebans* refusing to come to Peace on any other Terms, this Embassy ended without any effect; only *Philiscus* thinking the *Thebans* stood upon too high Terms, and being much offended thereat, sent to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* two thousand Mercenaries which he had raised with the King's Money, and so returned.

The truth of the Case was, the *Thebans* being elevated with their late Success, and much
Anno 368. confiding in their two Generals, *Pelopi-*
Artaxerxes 37. *das* and *Epaminondas*, (the latter of which was one of the greatest men that ever Greece produced) aimed now at nothing less, than the Empire of Greece. And therefore to strengthen themselves for the obtaining of it, (r) they sent *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias*, two of the eminentest of their Citizens, in an Embassy to King *Artaxerxes*, to secure him on their side. And on the hearing of this, the *Athenians* sent *Timagoras* and *Leontes*, and the other Cities of Greece other Ambassadors, to take care of their respective interests at that Court on this occasion. At their admission to Audience, they being required to adore the King, *Ismenias* on his entrance into the presence of the King dropped his ring, and stooping to take it up, thought by this trick to satisfy the Ceremonial, and save his honour at the same time. But *Timagoras* the *Athenian*, to gain the greater favour with *Artaxerxes*, directly without any trick or subterfuge paid him that Ceremony of adoration which was required, for (s) which he was put to death on his return, the *Athenians* thinking the honour of their whole City sullied by this low act of Submission in one of their

(r) Plutarchus in *Pelopida* & *Artaxerxe*. Xenophon. *Hellenic*. lib. 7.
 (s) *Valerius Maximus* lib. 5. c. 3.

Citizens, though made to the greatest of Kings. *Pelopidas* and *Leontes* would not submit to the *Persian* Ceremony in this particular. However they often had free access to the King, and (†) *Pelopidas* by the fame of his great actions, as well as by his noble demeanour at this Court, got that ascendant above all the other Ambassadors both in the King's esteem and favour, that he obtained all that he desired in behalf of his Citizens, and returned with full Success from his Embassy. For he brought back letters from the King under his Seal Royal, whereby it was required, that the *Lacedæmonians* should let *Messena* be free, and that the *Athenians* should recall their Fleet, and that all the other Cities of *Greece* should have the full enjoyment of their Liberties; and war was threatned against all that should not comply herewith. The success of this Embassy was much to the satisfaction of the *Thebans*, they thinking hereby most certainly to gain the Superiority over all the other Cities and States of *Greece*. For should the Peace be accepted of on these Terms, and the *Messenians* thoroughly restored, the *Lacedæmonians* would lose one half of their Territory, and thereby would be brought too low to be any more a match for them; and should the other Cities of *Greece*, as well small as great, be all set at Liberty, and made distinct States, free and independent of each other, this would so divide their power, that none of them would be in a condition to contend with them, but all must submit to them. And if the Peace were not accepted of, then the King being engaged in this case to join with them to force all to it, they thought by this addition of strength, they should easily overpower all, and thereby gain to themselves the same Empire over the rest of *Greece*, as first the *Athenians*, and afterwards the *Lacedæmonians* had for some time enjoyed. But they failed of their expectations in both these particulars. For the Cities of *Greece*, when met together

(†) Plutarchus in *Pelopida*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 7.

by their delegates to hear the contents of the King's letters, all refused to swear to the Peace on those Terms. And *Artaxerxes* not being at leisure to execute the other part of the Treaty, did not, on this refusal of the *Grecian* Cities to come into his measures, proceed to make that war upon them which he threatned; and so this whole Embassy came to nothing, and the *Thebans* failed of all that they designed by it. For

All that *Artaxerxes* did hereupon, was (u) to send another Embassy into *Greece* about two years after, whereby although he could not draw all the Cities to subscribe to his Terms, and swear to the Peace upon them; yet he prevailed so far, that all laid down their arms, and submitted to be at quiet with each other on the scheme proposed.

About this time (w) a wicked fact of *Johanan* the High-Priest of the *Jews* brought a great oppression upon the Temple at *Jerusalem*. For *Jeshua* his Brother having much insinuated himself into the favour of *Bagoses*, then Governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* for the *Persian* King, obtained of him a grant of the High-Priesthood, with which *Johanan* had been invested several years, and came with this Grant to *Jerusalem*, to take possession of the Office, and depose his Brother from it. But *Johanan* not submitting hereto, the matter came to a great contention between them, and while the one endeavoured by force to enter on the Execution of the Office, and the other by force to keep him from it, it happened that *Johanan* slew *Jeshua* in the inner Court of the Temple; which was a very wicked act in itself, but aggravated and rendred much more so, by the great profanation which was brought hereby on the Holy-place, where it was committed. *Bagoses* hearing of this, came in great wrath to *Jerusalem*, to take an

(u) Diodorus Siculus lib. 15. p. 497.
lib. 11. cap. 7.

(w) Josephus Antiq.

account of the fact. And when on his going into the Temple to see the place where it was perpetrated, they would have hindered his entrance, (all *Gentiles* being reckoned by them as impure, and prohibited to enter thither) he cried out with great indignation, What, am I not more pure than the dead Carcase of him, whom ye have slain in the Temple? whereon entring without any farther opposition, and having taken a thorough cognizance of the fact, he imposed a mulct on the Temple for the punishment of it, obliging the Priests to pay out of the publick Treasury, for every lamb they offered in the daily Sacrifice, the sum of fifty Drachms, which is about one pound eleven shillings and three pence of our money. This if extended only to the ordinary Sacrifices, which were offered every day, amounted to 36500 Drachms for the whole year, which is no more than one thousand one hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings and six pence of our money. But if it extended also to the extraordinary Sacrifices, which were added to the ordinary on solemn days, it will come to about half as much more. For the ordinary Sacrifices, which were offered every day, and called the daily Sacrifices, were (x) a Lamb in the morning, which was called the morning Sacrifice, and a Lamb in the Evening, which was called the evening Sacrifice, and these in the whole year came to seven hundred and thirty. But besides these, there were added (y) on every Sabbath two Lambs more, on (z) every new moon seven, on (a) each of the seven days of the Paschal Solemnity seven, besides (b) one more on the second day, when the wave-sheaf was offered, on (c) the day of Pentecost sixteen, on (d) the Feast of Trumpets seven, on (e) the great day of Expiation seven, on (f) each of the seven days of the Feast

(x) Exod. xxix. 38. Numbers xxviii. 3—8. (y) Numb. xxviii. 9, 10. (z) Numb. xxviii. 11. (a) Numb. xxviii. 16—24. (b) Levit. xxiii. 12. (c) Levit. xxiii. 17, 18. Numb. xxviii. 27. (d) Numb. xxix. 2. (e) Numb. xxix. 8. (f) Numb. xxix. 12—34.

of Tabernacles fourteen, and (g) on the eighth day seven. So that the additional Lambs being three hundred seventy and one, these if reckoned to the other make the whole number annually offered at the morning and evening Sacrifices to be eleven hundred and one. And therefore if the mulct of fifty Drachms a Lamb were paid for them all, it would make the whole of it to amount to 55050 Drachms, which is of our money seventeen hundred and twenty pounds six shillings and three pence. But this sum being too small for a National mulct, and far short of what Governors of Provinces on such occasions are apt to exact from their Provincials, it seems probable, that all Lambs that were offered in the Temple, in any Sacrifice whatsoever, were taken into the reckoning; and without this, there will be no sufficient cause for that complaint which *Josephus* makes hereof. For he speaks of it as such a calamity and grievance upon the *Jews*, which a payment of seventeen hundred and twenty pounds a year upon the whole Nation of them could not amount to. *Capellus* (b) reckons this mulct at sixty Talents. This proceeds from his laying it at five hundred Drachms a Lamb instead of fifty, which is a plain mistake of his. For the Text of *Josephus* in all Copies hath *πενήκοντα* fifty, and not *πεντακοσίας* five hundred. But whatever this mulct was, the payment of it lasted no longer than seven years. For on the death of *Artaxerxes*, the Changes and Revolutions which then happened in the Empire, having made a change of the Governor in *Syria*, he that succeeded *Bagoses* in that Province no farther exacted it.

A new war having broke out in *Greece*, between the *Arcadians* and the *Elians*, and that having produced another among the *Arcadians* themselves, (i) one party called

Anno 363.
Artaxerxes 42.

(g) Numb. xxix. 36. (b) *Historia Sacra & Exotica* sub A. M. 3639. (i) *Plutarchus* in *Agefilao*. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 15. p. 501, 502. *Cornelius Nepos* in *Epaminonda*.

in the *Thebans* to their assistance, and the other party the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. Hereon the *Lacedæmonians* set forth a great army, under the command of *Agésilas*, to help that party, which they favoured, and the *Thebans* another under the command of *Epaminondas* to support the other party, which produced the famous battle of *Mantineia*, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* lost the victory, and the *Thebans* their General *Epaminondas*, which was the greater loss of the two. For with him all the vigour of the *Theban* State expired, and they never more signified any thing after this. But as they had attained all their power and glory, by the conduct and valour of this one great man, so they lost it all again with him. These losses being received on both sides, they made both weary of the war, and therefore soon after this Battle both parties, and with them all the rest of the *Grecian* States, came to a general Peace among themselves, and the *Messenians*, notwithstanding what the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to the contrary, were also included in it, according as had been decreed by the King of *Persia*.

While these things were doing in *Greece* (k) *Tachos* succeeded *Nectanebis* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and gathered together all the Strength he could, to defend himself in it against the King of *Persia*, who still pursued his designs of recovering that Kingdom again to his Empire, notwithstanding he had so often miscarried in them.

And to make himself the stronger against so potent an enemy, he sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedæmonians* (l) to aid him with a good number of their Forces under the command of *Agésilas*. For the *Lacedæmonians* being angry, that *Artaxerxes* had forced them to include the *Messenians*, in the late Peace, were glad to lay hold of this occa-

Anno 362.
Artaxerxes 43.

(k) Cornelius Nepos & Plutarchus in *Agésilao*. Diodorus Sic. lib. 15. p. 504. (l) Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos, & Diodorus ibid.

sion, to express their resentments for it. And *Agefilaus*, either out of fondness still to be at the head of Armies, or else out of a greedy desire of gaining riches by it, gladly accepted of the employment, though it neither suited his age* (which was above eighty) to be engaged in such an undertaking, nor the dignity of his person, thus to become a Mercenary and let himself to hire to a barbarous King. That which chiefly tempted him to it was, *Tachos* promised him to make him Generalissimo of all his Forces; but when he was landed in *Egypt*, and instead of a great and glorious King, which his great actions had represented him to be, the *Egyptians* found him a little old man, ill-clothed, and of a contemptible presence, and living without Pomp and Ceremony, they very much despised him, and *Tachos* would allow him no other command, but that of his Mercenaries at Land, committing to *Chabrias the Athenian* the Charge of his Fleet, and reserving to himself the chief Command over all. And when he had joined the *Grecian* Mercenaries to the rest of his Army, he marched with his whole strength into *Phœnicia*, thinking it better to meet the war there, than to expect till it should be brought home to him to his own doors; and *Agefilaus* was forced to attend him thither. But the old *Grecian* King saw the ill consequence of this resolution, and advised him against it, telling him, that in the present unsettled State of his Kingdom, it was his interest to tarry in *Egypt*, and look well to his affairs there, and manage the war abroad by his Lieutenants. But *Tachos* contemning his advice in this particular, and slighting him in most things else, this so far alienated *Agefilaus* from him, that when in his absence in *Phœnicia* the *Egyptians* revolted from him, and set up *Nectanebus* his Kinsman to be King in his stead, *Agefilaus* joined with the Revolters, and drove *Tachos* out of his Kingdom; who thereon fled to *Sidon*, and from thence went to the *Persian* Court. *Plutarch* condemns *Agefilaus* as guilty of Treachery, in thus turning his Arms
against

against the Person, into whose service he was hired. *Agésilas*'s excuse for it was, that he was sent to aid the *Egyptians*, and that therefore the *Egyptians* having armed against *Tachos*, he could not fight against them, unless he had new Instructions from *Lacedæmon*; whereon Messengers being sent thither, the Orders returned by them were, that *Agésilas* should act herein according to what he judged would be best for the interest of his Country; whereon *Agésilas* going over to *Nectanebus*, *Tachos* was forced to make his flight out of *Egypt*, in the manner as hath been related.

And he was no sooner gone, (m) but another from among the *Mendesians* did set up in his stead against *Nectanebus*, and got toge-

Anno 361.
Artaxerxes 44.

ther an Army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. *Agésilas*'s advice to *Nectanebus* was, that he should fall on them immediately, before they were well formed and disciplined; and they being most of them raw and unexperienced men, they might easily have been dissipated and broken, had this advice been followed. But *Nectanebus* mistrusting it to be given with an ill design, and growing jealous that *Agésilas* intended to betray him, as he had *Tachos* before, would not hearken to him, but delayed the matter to gain more strength. In the interim, his adversary having brought his Army into form and order, grew too strong for him, whereon he was forced to coop himself up with all his Forces, in one of his Towns, and the other sat down before it to besiege him therein, and began to draw lines of Circumvallation about it. *Nectanebus* seeing the danger, would then have had *Agésilas* engage the enemy to extricate him out of it. This he refused for some time to do, which increased the jealousy of that Prince against him. But when the lines were so far drawn round, as only to leave a sufficient space for the besieged to draw up

(m) Plutarchus in Agefilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

their Army in it, then *Agésilas* told *Nectanebus*, that this was his only time to fall on, that the lines which the enemy had drawn, secured him from being encompassed, and that the gap, which was still left void, allowed room enough for him to bring all his Forces to the battle; whereon an engagement ensuing the Besiegers were put to the rout, and after this *Agésilas* managed the rest of the War with that success, that he every where vanquished the other King, and at length took him Prisoner. And thereon having settled *Nectanebus* in full and quiet Possession of the Kingdom, returned homeward in the ensuing Winter, but being in his way driven by contrary Winds on the *African* shore, at a place called the Haven of *Menelaus*, he there sickned and died, being full eighty-four years old.

Towards the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes* great disturbances grew in the *Persian* Court, which (n) were occasioned by the contention of his Sons, in making Parties among the Nobility about the Succession. For he had an hundred and fifteen Sons by his Concubines, and three by his Queen; the names of the latter were *Darius*, *Ariaspes*, and *Ocbus*. For the stilling of these Commotions, *Artaxerxes* declared *Darius* the eldest of them to be his Successor, and for the firmer settling of the matter, allowed him to assume the name of King, and wear the (o) Royal *Tiara* even in his Life-time. But this not contenting him, and there being also some disgust about one of the King's Concubines, which he would have had from him, he formed a design against his Father's Life, and drew in fifty of his Brothers into the same Conspiracy with him. He was chiefly excited to this by *Tiribazus*,

(n) Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 10. c. 1, 2.

(o) This *Tiara* was a *Turbant* or *Cap*, with the *Peke* upright. For the seven Counsellors wore their *Turbant* with the *Peke* forward, all others with the *Peke* backward, excepting the King, who wore it always with the *Peke* upright.

whose name hath been often above mentioned. *Artaxerxes* had promised him one of his Daughters, but falling in love with her, he had married her himself, and to make him amends having promised him another of his Daughters, he married this also; such abominable incest was in those times allowed in *Persia*, by the Religion which they then professed. These two disappointments greatly discontented *Tiribazus*, and provoking his resentments against the King for them, to be revenged of him, he excited the young King to this flagitious Act. But the whole being discovered, *Darius* was cut off in such manner as he deserved, and all his accomplices with him.

After the death of *Darius*, (p) the same contention was again revived, which was in the *Persian* Court before his being declared King, three of his surviving Brothers in the same manner making parties for the Succession. These were *Ariaspes*, *Ocbus*, *Arfames*; the two former being the King's Sons by his Queen, claimed as the lawful Heirs, but the other only by the favour of his Father, to whom he was the most beloved of the three, tho' born to him only by one of his Concubines. But the restless ambition of *Ocbus*, prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the Crown, he carried it from the other two, by the wickedest and the worst of means. For *Ariaspes* being an easy and credulous Prince, he terrified him so by menaces, which he suborned the Eunuchs of the Court to bring to him as from his Father, that apprehending himself to be just ready to be used by him in the same manner as *Darius* had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. But *Arfames* still remaining to rival him in his Pretensions, and being in the opinion of his Father, as well as of all others, both for his wisdom and all other accomplishments the worthiest of the Throne, to remove this obstacle he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the Son of

Anno 359.
Artaxerxes 46.

(p) Ctesias & Plutarchus ibid.

Tiribazus.

Tiribazus. This loss added to the former, and both aggravated by the wickedness, whereby they were caused, so overwhelmed the old King with grief, that being now ninety-four years old, he had not strength enough to support himself under it, but broke his heart and died. He was (q) a mild and generous Prince, and governed with great clemency and justice, and therefore being honoured and revered through the whole Empire, he had a fixed and thorough settled authority in all the parts of it; which *Ocbus* being sensible of, and knowing that it would be quite otherwise with him on his succeeding (the death of his two Brothers having rendered the generality of the People, as well as the Nobility, ill-affected to him) for the avoiding of the inconveniencies which might from hence follow, he dealt with the Eunuchs, and all others, that were about the dead King, (r) to conceal his death, and took on him to govern as under his direction; and giving out Orders and sealing Decrees in his name, as if he had still been alive, in one of these Decrees he caused himself, as by his Father's command, to be proclaimed King through the whole Empire. And when he had governed in this manner about ten Months, thinking now his authority fully established, he owned his Father's death, and openly ascending the Throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*. But by the name of *Ocbus* is he mostly spoken of in History.

But this Artifice had not that full success, which he proposed. For as soon as it was known
Anno 358. that the old King was dead, and that *Ocbus*
Ochus 1. had taken possession of the Throne, (s) all Lesser *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, and several other Provinces of the Empire, refused him their obedience, and fell off from him, which very much distressed him. For hereby one half of the Revenues

(q) Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 506.

(r) Polyænus *Stratagem*. lib. 7. (s) Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504, 505, 506.

of his Crown were cut off, and the remainder could not have sufficed to carry on the War against so many revolters, had they continued firm to each other. But this union being wanting, they had not long been in the revolt, ere those who were the first promoters of it, were at a strife which should soonest betray each other, and thereby reconcile themselves to the King. The Provinces of *Lesser Asia*, when they first fell off from him, resolving on a joint Confederacy for their mutual defence, chose *Orontes*, Governor of *Mysia* for their common head, and having agreed on the raising of twenty thousand Mercenaries, to be added to their other Forces, they committed the care of it to him; but when he had received for this purpose a Sum sufficient, both for the raising of these Forces, and also for the maintaining of them for a Year's time, he put the Money in his own Pocket, and betrayed those to the King that brought it to him from the revolted Provinces. And *Rheomithres*, another Prime Leader in this Revolt in *Lesser Asia*, being sent from thence into *Egypt* to gain Succours in that Kingdom, for the carrying on of this Rebellion, practised the same Treachery. For on his return with five hundred Talents and fifty Ships of War, having called together at *Leucas*, a City in *Lesser Asia*, several of the prime Ring-leaders of the Revolt, on pretence of giving them an account of his agency, he there seized them all, and made his Peace with the King, by betraying them into his hands, and kept the Money for a prey unto himself. And by these means the danger of this formidable Revolt, which threatned the *Persian* Empire with absolute ruin, was all blown over, and *Ochus* became settled in the Throne much firmer than he deserved. For he was the cruellest and the worst of all that had reigned of that race in *Persia*, which his actions soon made appear. For he had not been long on the Throne ere he filled the Palace, and all parts of the Empire, with a great number of Murders. That the Revolted Provinces might have none

other of the Royal Family to set up in his stead, and that there might not be any of them left, on any other pretence whatsoever to give him any disturbance, (t) he cut them all off, without having any regard to sex, age, or nearness of blood. For he caused *Ocha* his own Sister, who was also his Mother-in-law (for he had married her daughter) to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his Uncles, with an hundred of his Sons and Grandsons, in an empty yard, he there caused them by his Archers to be all shot to death. This seems to have been the Father of *Sisigambis* the Mother of *Darius Codomannus*. For (u) *Quintus Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* slew eighty of her Brothers together with their Father in one day. And with the same cruelty he proceeded against all others through the whole Empire, of whom he had any suspicion, leaving none of the Nobility alive, whom he thought to be any way ill-affected towards him. *Diodorus Siculus* placeth this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but he being a Prince, whose conduct in the Government had thoroughly settled him in the esteem and affection of all his People, it is not likely that so great an insurrection against the Royal Authority should have happened in his days. But *Ochus* giving reason enough for it, when the next year after he ascended the Throne, I have rather chosen here to place it. For his ill dispositions, and the wicked means whereby he made away with two of his Brothers to come at the Throne, were causes sufficient to make many of the Nobility, who had the Government of the Provinces of the Empire, to abhor the Man and refuse their Submission to him. And he having taken the name of *Artaxerxes*, this might lead *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing that in the Father's Reign, which was done in the Son's. But this Revolt was soon again quash'd by the means I have mentioned. Only

(t) Justin. lib. 10. c. 3. Valerius Maximus lib. 9. c. 2. Quintus Curtius lib. 10. cap. 8.

(u) Lib. 10. cap. 8.

Datames Governor of *Cappadocia*, having seized also *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. But when he began his revolt, or when it ended, is no where clearly expressed. But by what is written of him by (w) *Cornelius Nepos* and (x) *Polyænus*, it appears he maintained himself in both these Provinces in Rebellion against the King of *Persia* a long while, and it was not till the time of *Ochus*, and some years after he had been King, that he was by the Treachery of *Mitridates*, one of his Confidants, at length cut off.

In the first year of the Hundred and Sixth *Olympiad*, about the middle of the Summer Quarter, *Alexander the Great*, who overthrew the *Persian Empire*, was born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*. (y) *Plutarch* and (z) *Justin* tell us, that at the time of his Birth, King *Philip* his Father had the News that his Horse had won the Victory in the Horse Race at the *Olympic Games*, which proves him to be born a little after the celebrating of those Games. And (a) *Arrian* telling us out of *Aristobulus* (who accompanied *Alexander* in all his Expeditions) that he died in the one hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, in the Year when *Hegeſias* was Archon at *Athens* (which was the first Year of that *Olympiad*) after having lived thirty-two years and eight Months, these thirty-two years and eight Months being reckoned backward from the said first Year of the one hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad* and the Month *Dæsius*, in which he died, will lead us directly to the same time for his Birth, which I have said. But (b) *Eusebius*, and the (c) *Parian Chronicle* place it one Year later, that is in the second Year of the said one hundred and sixth *Olympiad*. On the same day in which he was born, (d) the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was designedly burnt by one *Erostratus*;

(w) In vita Datamis. (x) Stratagem. lib. 7. (y) In vita Alexandri. (z) Lib. 12. c. 16. (a) Lib. 7. (b) In Chronico p. 175. (c) Marm. Oxon. (d) Plutarchus in Alexandro. Cicero de Natura Deorum lib. 2. & de Divinatione lib. 1.

(e) when he was put upon the Rack to make him confess his inducements, he acknowledged it was, that by destroying so excellent a work he might perpetuate his name, and make it to be remembered in After-ages. Whereon the Common-Council of *Asia* made a Decree, that no one shall ever name him; but this made him so much the more remember'd, so remarkable an extravagance scarce escaping any of the Historians, that have written of those times.

Artabazus Governor of one of the *Asian* Provinces (f) being in Rebellion against the King, drew *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him, with such Forces as he then commanded in those Parts, and by his assistance overthrew an Army of seventy thousand of the King's Forces, which were sent to reduce him; for the Reward of which Service *Artabazus* gave unto *Chares* as much Money as paid all his Fleet, and the Army which he had on Board it. This greatly offended the King; and the *Athenians* being then engaged in a War against the *Cbians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, who were associated in a revolt against them, threats were given out, that the King to be revenged of them was preparing a Fleet of three hundred Sail to help their enemies in this War. Whereon the *Athenians* not only recalled *Chares*, but came also to an Accommodation with their revolted Subjects, that thereby being freed from all Embarrassments at home, they might be in a better posture to defend themselves from all such invasions as might be made upon them from abroad.

Artabazus therefore being thus deserted by the *Athenians*, (g) applied himself to the *Thebans*, from whom having obtained a band of Auxiliaries, to the Number of five thousand Men, under the command of *Pammenes*, he did by their assistance gain two great Victories over the

(e) Valerius Maximus lib. 8. c. 14. Aulus Gellius lib. 2. c. 6. Solinus cap. 40. (f) Diodorus Sic. lib. 16. p. 527, 528. (g) Diodorus ibid.

King's Forces, which redounded much to the Honour of the *Thebans*, and their General that commanded in this Expedition.

About the same time (*b*) happen'd the death of *Mausolus* King of *Caria*, which was rendered famous by the great grief which (*i*) *Artemisia* (who was both his Sister and Wife) expressed hereat. For she having gathered together his Ashes and beaten his bones to powder, took a Portion of them every day in her Drink, till she had in this manner drunk them all down, aiming hereby to make her Body the Sepulchre of her dead Husband, and in two Years time pined herself to death in sorrowing for him. But before she died she took care for the erecting of that famous (*k*) Monument for him at *Halicarnassus*, which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, and from whence all Monuments of more than ordinary Magnificence are called *Mausoleum's*.

As *Artemisia* succeeded *Mausolus* in the Kingdom, so on her death she was succeeded by (*l*) *Idrieus* her Brother, who married *Ada* his Sister, in the manner as *Mausolus* had married *Artemisia*, it being usual for the *Carian* Kings to marry their Sisters, and for those Sisters on the death of their Husbands to succeed them in the Kingdom before their Brothers or Children.

Anno 351.
Ochus 8.

The (*m*) *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, being oppressed, and ill used by those whom the King of *Persia* had set over them, revolted from him, and entered into confederacy with *Neftanebus* King of *Egypt* against him. The *Persians* had long waged war with *Neftanebus* in order to reduce *Egypt* again under their Yoke, and were then preparing a great Army to in-

(*b*) Diodorus Sic. lib. 16. p. 529. Plinius lib. 36. c. 5 & 6.

(*i*) Valerius Maximus lib. 4. c. 6. Aulus Gellius lib. 10. c. 18.

(*k*) Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. 3. Strabo lib. 14. p. 656. A. Gellius lib. 10. c. 18. Pausanias in Arcadicis. (*l*) Diodorus Siculus

lib. 16. p. 534. Arrian de Expeditione Alexandri lib. 1. Strabo

lib. 14. p. 656. (*m*) Diodor. Sic. lib 16. p. 531, 532, & 533.

vade him. But there being no other way for them to enter *Egypt*, but through *Phœnicia*, the revolt of that Country happen'd very opportune for him ; and therefore to encourage them to stand out in it he sent *Mentor* the *Rhodian* with four thousand of the *Grecian* Mercenaries to their assistance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnicia* a Barrier to *Egypt*, and there keep the War out of his own Country. The *Phœnicians* strengthened by these Auxiliaries took the Field, and by their assistance overthrew the Governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, two of the King's Lieutenants, that were sent to reduce them, and drove the *Persians* wholly out of *Phœnicia*.

The *Cyprians* being provoked by the like usage, were encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians* (n) to revolt also ; and therefore they joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same confederacy. *Hereon Ochus* dispatched his orders to (o) *Idrieus* King of *Caria* to make War upon them, who having accordingly got ready a Fleet, sent it with eight thousand *Grecian* Mercenaries, under the Command of *Phocion* the *Athenian*, and *Euagoras*, to invade that Island ; who having there landed, and augmented their Army to double its number by other Forces, which came to them from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by Sea and Land. Another *Euagoras* had formerly reigned in that City, of whom we have above spoken ; on his death he was succeeded by *Nicocles* his Son, and (p) this *Euagoras* seems to have been the Son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that Kingdom ; but being driven out by *Protagoras* his Uncle, was in Banishment when this war begun, and therefore gladly joined in it, as hoping thereby again to recover his Crown. And the knowledge which he had of the Country, and the Party, which he might still

(n) Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532. (o) This being a petty Prince was subject to the King of Persia, and reigned under his Protection, and therefore was obliged to obey his orders. (p) Vide Iſocratem in Nicocle & Euagora, & Uſſerii Annales ad A. M. 3630, & 3654.

have in it, made him thought a very proper Person to command in this Expedition. *Cyrus* had then (q) nine chief Cities, and each of them had its King, but subject to the King of *Persia*. All these joined together in this Confederacy, with a view of getting rid of the *Persian Yoke*, and making themselves each Supreme in his own City.

Ochus finding his wars with the *Egyptians* to have been unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill conduct of his Lieutenants, (r) resolved thenceforth to lead his Forces in Person; and therefore having gotten together an Army of three hundred thousand Foot, and thirty thousand Horse, marched with them into *Phœnicia*. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon* with the *Grecian Mercenaries*, being terrified with the approach of so great an Army, sent privately to *Ochus* to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but also to give him his assistance in his wars with *Egypt*, where through his knowledge of the Country, he was enabled to do him great Services. *Ochus* glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage *Mentor* in his Service. And he accordingly having received such assurances from *Ochus* as he desired, engaged *Tennes* King of *Sidon* in the same Treason, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* into his hands. The *Sidonians* on his approach to lay siege to their City, had designedly burnt all their ships, that none might make use of any of them, to withdraw from the defence of their Country. And therefore when they found they were betrayed, and that the Enemy was within their Walls, having no way now left to escape either by Sea or Land, they retired into their Houses, and setting fire to them over their heads, were all consumed with them, to the number of forty thousand men, besides women and children, and *Tennes* escaped not any better than the rest. For *Ochus*, after he had

(q) Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 582. (r) Diodor. Siculus lib. 16. p. 531, 532, &c.

thus subdued *Sidon*, having no more need of him, caused him to be put to death also, which was a reward the Traitor sufficiently deserved, for thus selling his Country to destruction ; and may all those who practise the like courses, meet with the like fate. There were vast riches of Gold and Silver in *Sidon*, when this Calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, *Ochus* sold the Ashes of the City for great Sums of Money. The terrible destruction of this City frightening the rest of the *Phœnicians*, they all submitted, and made their peace with the King, upon the best Terms they could. And *Ochus* was the willinger to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from the designs, which he had upon *Egypt*.

But before he marched thither, (s) he was recruited with ten thousand Mercenaries, which were sent him out of *Greece*. For in the beginning of this expedition, *Ochus* had sent thither for Auxiliaries. The *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* excused themselves, telling the *Persian* Ambassadors that were sent to them for this purpose, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with the King, but could not send him any Succours at that time. But the *Thebans* sent him a thousand men under the command of *Lachares*, and the *Argives* three thousand under the command of *Nicostratus*. The rest came from the *Grecian* Cities of *Asia*, and all these joined him immediately after his taking of *Sidon*.

The *Jews* seem to have been engaged in this war of the *Phœnicians* against *Ochus*. For (t) after he had taken *Sidon*, he marched into *Judæa*, and besieged and took *Jericho*, and making many of the *Jews* captives, he led part of them with him into *Egypt*, and sent a great number of others into *Hyrkania*, and there planted them on those parts of that Country, which lay on the *Caspian* Sea.

(s) Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 533. (t) Solinus cap. 25. Syncellus ex Africano p. 256. Orosius lib. 31. cap. 7. Josephus ex Hecataeo lib. 1. Contra Apicnem. Eusebius in Chronico.

Ochus at the same time also got rid of the *Cyprian* War. For having his mind wholly bent on the reducing of *Egypt*, that he might not be diverted from it by any other Embarrassment, (u) he was content to come to a Composition with the nine *Cyprian* Kings, and therefore having removed their Grievances, they all again submitted to him, and were confirmed by him in the Government of their respective Territories. The greatest difficulty in the bringing of this matter to a Composition, was to content *Euagoras*, who claimed to be restored to his Kingdom of *Salamine*; but he being convicted before *Ochus* of great crimes there committed, for which he was justly ejected, *Protagoras* was continued at *Salamine*, and amends was made *Euagoras*, by conferring on him the Government of another place. But having there run into the same misdemeanours, which he had been guilty of at *Salamine*, he was ejected thence also, whereon being forced to flee into *Cyprus*, he was there taken, and put to death for them.

Cyprus, as well as *Phœnicia*, being thus wholly reduced, and settled again in peace, (w) *Ochus* set forward for this *Egyptian* Expedition.

Anno 250.
Ochus 9.

In his way he lost many of his men at the Lake of *Serbonis*. This Lake lay in the entrance into *Egypt* from *Phœnicia*, of the extent of about thirty miles in length. The South-Wind blowing the sand of the Desert upon it, made a crust upon the surface of the Water, that in appearance looked like firm Land, but if any went upon it, they were soon swallowed up and lost. And thus it happened to as many of *Ochus's* men, as for want of good guides marched on upon it. And there are instances of whole Armies, which had been thus lost in that place. On his arrival into *Egypt*, he planted his Camp near *Pelusium*, and from thence sent out three Detachments to invade the Country, setting a Gre-

(u) Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534.
P. 534. 535.

(w) Diodor. Sic. lib. 16.

cian and a *Persian* in joint commission over each of them. Over the first he put *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Rosaces* Governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; over the second *Nicostratus* the *Argive*, and *Aristazanes*; and over the third *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his Eunuchs. To each of which having given his orders, he retained the main of the Army about himself, in the place where he had first encamped, there to watch the events of the war, and to be ready from thence to relieve all the distresses, and prosecute all the advantages of it. In the interim, *Netanebus* having sufficient notice, from these preparations against him, to provide for his defence, had gotten together an Army of an hundred thousand men, of which twenty thousand were Mercenaries out of *Greece*, and twenty thousand out of *Libya*, and the rest *Egyptians*. With some of these he garrisoned his Towns on the borders, and with the rest guarded those passes, thro' which the Enemy was to enter into the Country. The first of *Ochus's* detachments under the command of *Lachares*, sat down before *Pelusium*, which was garrison'd with five thousand *Greeks*. While this siege was carrying on, *Nicostratus* having put his detachment on board a squadron of the *Persian* Fleet of eighty ships that attended him, sailed up through one of the Channels of the *Nile*, into the heart of the Country, and having there landed his Forces, strongly encamped them in a place convenient for it. Whereon all the Soldiers of the neighbouring Garrisons taking the alarm, gathered together under the command of *Clinius* a *Grecian* of the Island of *Cos*, to drive him thence. This produced a fierce Battle between them, in which *Clinius* with above five thousand of his men being slain, and all the rest dissipated and broken, this in a manner determined the whole fate of the war. For hereon *Netanebus* fearing lest *Nicostratus* should sail up the River with his victorious Forces, and take *Memphis* the Metropolis of his Kingdom, he hastened thither for its defence, leaving those passes into his Country open, which it was his

his chief interest to have defended. When the *Grecians* who garrisoned *Pelusium* heard of this retreat, they gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a Parley with *Lachares*, agreed upon Terms of being safely conveyed into *Greece*, with all that belonged to them, to yield the Town to him. And *Mentor* with the third detachment finding the passes deserted and left open, marched through them, and without any opposition took in all that part of the Country. For having given it out through all his Camp, that *Ochus* had given Orders graciously to receive such as should yield unto him, but utterly to destroy all those that should stand out, in the same manner as he had destroyed the *Sidonians*, he permitted all his Captives to escape, that they might carry the report of it all over the Country; who accordingly returning to their respective Cities, and dispersing every where what they had heard was ordered by *Ochus*, and the brutal Cruelty of the man making it believed; this so frightened the Garrisons through all the Country, that in every City both *Greeks* and *Egyptians* were at strife, which of them should first yield to the invader; which *Nectanebus* perceiving, despaired of any longer being able to defend himself, and therefore gathering together all the Treasure he could get into his hands, fled with it into *Ethiopia*, and never again returned. And this was the last *Egyptian* that ever reigned in this Country, it having been ever since enslaved to Strangers, according (x) to the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, which hath been already taken notice of. *Ochus* having thus made an absolute Conquest of *Egypt*, he dismantled their chief Cities, and plundered their Temples, and then returned in Triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with vast Treasures of Gold and Silver, and other Spoils gotten in this war, leaving *Pherendates* one of his Nobles, Governor of the Country. And here (y) *Manetbo* endeth his Commentaries, which he wrote of the *Egyptian* Affairs.

(x) Ch. xxix. ver. 14, 15. (y) Syncellus p. 256.

He was a Priest of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, and wrote in the *Greek Language* an (z) History of all the several *Dynasties* of *Egypt*, from the beginning of that Kingdom to this time, which is often quoted by *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, *Plutarch*, *Porphyry* and others; an Epitome whereof is preserved in *Syncellus*. He lived in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*: For to him he dedicates his Book.

The chief cause of *Nectanebus's* losing of his Kingdom (a) was his over-confidence in himself. He had gained his Kingdom by the assistance of *Agefilaus*, and had preserved himself in it by the prudence and valour of *Diaphantus* an *Athenian*, and *Lamius* a *Spartan*, who managing his wars, and commanding his Armies for him, made him victorious against the *Persians*, in all the attempts which they had hitherto made upon him; with which being elevated, he thought himself now sufficient to conduct his own Affairs, and therefore dismissing those by whose help he had hitherto subsisted, he was now ruined for want of it.

Ochus having thus mastered this war, and recovered *Phaenicia* and *Egypt* again to his Crown, he
Anno 349. (b) nobly rewarded the service of *Mentor*
Ochus 10. the *Rhodian*. The other *Greeks* he had sent back into their Country with ample rewards before he left *Egypt*; but the success of the whole Expedition being chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he not only gave him an hundred Talents with many other valuable gifts, but also made him Governor of the *Asiatic Coasts*, and committed to his charge the management of the war, which he still had with some of the Provinces, that had there revolted from him in the beginning of his reign, and made him Generalissimo of all his Forces in those Parts. *Mentor* having thus gained so great a share in the favour of *Ochus*, he (c) made use of it to reconcile unto him *Memnon*

(z) Vide Vossium De Historicis Græcis, cap. 14. (a) Diodorus Siculus lib. 16. p. 535. (b) Diodorus Sic. lib. 16. p. 537. (c) Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 538.

his Brother, and *Artabazus* who had married their Sister. For they had both been in a war against him. Of the revolt of *Artabazus*, and the several victories which he had gained over the King's Forces, I have already spoken; but he being at length over-powered, took refuge with *Philip* King of *Macedon*; and *Memnon*, who had joined with him in those wars, was forced to bear with him the same Banishment. After this reconciliation they both became very serviceable to *Ochus*, and his Successors of that race, especially *Memnon*, who was a person of the greatest valour and military skill of any of his time. And *Mentor* was not wanting in answering that confidence, which the King had placed in him. For when settled in his Province, he soon restored the King's Authority in those parts, and made all that had revolted again submit to him. Some he circumvented by Stratagem and Military Skill, and others he subdued by open force, and so wisely managed all his Advantages, that at length he reduced all again under their former Yoke, and thoroughly re-established the King's affairs in all those Provinces.

In (d) the first year of the hundred and eighth Olympiad died *Plato* the famous *Athenian* Philosopher. The eminentest of his Scholars was *Aristotle*, the Founder of the Peripatetic Philosophy. He (e) was by birth of *Stagira*, a small city on the River *Strymon* in the Northern confines of *Macedonia*. He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad (which was the year before Christ 384.) At the age of seventeen he came to *Athens*, and became one of the Scholars of *Plato*, and heard him till his death. *Speusippus* succeeding *Plato* in his School, *Aristotle* went into *Asia* to *Hermias* the Eunuch, who was King of *Atarna*, a City

(d) Diogenes Laertius in Platone. Dionysius Halicarnasseus in Epistola ad Ammæum de Demosthene. Athenæus lib. 5. c. 13.

(e) Diogenes Laertius in Aristotele. See also Mr. Stanley's account of the life of Aristotle in his History of Philosophy.

of *Mysia*, and having married his Neice, lived with him three years, till at length *Hermias* being circumvented and drawn into a Snare by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who commanded for *Ochus* in those Parts, was taken Prisoner, and sent to the *Persian* Court, where he was put to death. Hereon *Aristotle* fled to *Mitylene*, and from thence went into *Macedonia*, and became Præceptor to *Alexander the Great*, with whom he tarried eight Years. After this he returned to *Athens*, and there taught the Peripatetic Philosophy in the *Lyceum* twelve Years. But being accused of holding some Notions contrary to the Religion there established, and not daring to venture himself on a trial for fear of *Socrates's* Fate, he withdrew to *Chalcis* a Town in *Eubœa*, and there died about two years after, being then sixty-three years old. While he lived with *Hermias* in *Asia*, (f) he there fell acquainted with a Jew of wonderful wisdom, temperance, and goodness; who came thither from the upper parts of *Asia* upon some business, which he had on those maritime Coasts, and having frequent Conversation with him, learned much from him. This *Josephus* tells us from a Book written by *Clearchus*, who was one of the chiefest of *Aristotle's* Scholars. And from what he then learned from this Jew, it's most likely proceeded what *Aristobulus* (g) and out of him *Clemens Alexandrinus* have observed of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, that is, that it contains many things, which agree with what is written by *Moses* and the Prophets in the Scriptures of the old Testament.

Ochus, after he had subdued *Egypt*, and reduced again all the revolted Provinces, gave himself wholly up to his ease, spending the rest of his life in Luxury, Laziness, and Pleasure; (b) and left the administration of his Affairs wholly to his Ministers; the chiefest of which were *Bagoas* his favourite Eunuch, and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*;

(f) *Josephus* lib. 1. contra Apionem. Stromatum.

(g) In libro quinto.

(b) *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 16. p. 537.

who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the Provinces of the Upper *Asia*, and the latter those of the Lower.

Jobanan High-Priest of the *Jews* died in the 18th year of *Ochus*, after he had been in that Office (i) thirty-two years, and was succeeded (ij) by *Jaddua* his son, who held it twenty years.

Anno 341.
Ochus 18.

Ochus died after he had reigned (k) one and twenty years, being (l) poisoned by *Bagoas* the Eunuch. This Eunuch being an *Egyptian* by birth had a love for his Country, and a zeal for his Country Religion, and thought to have influenced *Ochus* in favour of both, on the Conquest of that Kingdom; but not being able to over-rule the brutal ferity of that Prince, those acts were done in respect of each of them, which he deeply resented ever after. For *Ochus* on his conquering of *Egypt*, not only dismantled their Cities, robbed the Inhabitants, and plundered their Temples, (as hath been already mentioned) but also (m) carried away all their publick Records, (which were repositied and kept with great Sacredness in their Temples) and in contempt of their Religion slew their God *Apis*, that is the Sacred Bull, which they worshipped under that Name. For (n) *Ochus* being as remarkable for his Sloth and stupid Inactivity, as he was for his Cruelty, the *Egyptians* for this reason nick-named him the *Afs*; which angered him so far, that he caused their *Apis* to be taken out of the Temple, where he was kept, and made him be sacrificed to an *Afs*, and then ordered his Cook to dress up the flesh of the slain beast to be eaten by his attendants. All this greatly offended *Bagoas*. The Records he afterwards redeemed

Anno 338.
Ochus 21.

(i) *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. (ij) *Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.* (k) *Can. Ptol.* (l) *Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.* (m) *Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537.* (n) *Severus Sulpitius lib. 2. Eliani varia Historia lib. 4. c. 8. Suidas in ΩΧΘ.*

with a great sum of Money, and sent them back again to their former Archives. But the affront offered his Religion he most resented, and it is said, that it was chiefly in revenge of this, that he poison'd him. And his revenge did not rest here ; but (o) having caused another body to be buried instead of his, he kept the true Carcase, and in revenge of his having caused the Flesh of their *Apis* to be eaten by his Attendants, he cut his Flesh into bits, and gave it to be eaten by Cats, and made of his bones handles for Swords. And no doubt, when he did all this, there were other causes concurring to excite him hereto, which reviving the old resentments, and creating new ones, provoked the Traitor to all this villany against his Master and Benefactor, which he executed upon him.

After the death of *Ochus*, *Bagoas*, who had now the whole power of the Empire in his hands, *Anno 337.* (p) made *Arses* the youngest of his sons *Arses 1.* King in his stead, and put all the rest to death; thinking that by thus removing all Rivals, he might best secure to himself the Authority, which he had usurped. For the name of King was all that he allowed to *Arses*, the Power and Authority of the Government he wholly reserved to himself.

Philip King of *Macedon*, (q) having overthrown the *Thebans* and *Athenians*, in a great battle at *Chæronea*, made himself thereby in a manner Lord of all *Greece*; and therefore (r) calling together at *Corinth* an Assembly of all the *Grecian* Cities and States, he there caused himself to be chosen Captain-General of all *Greece*, for the carrying on of a war against the *Persians*, and made every City to be taxed at a certain number of Men, which each of them was to send and maintain in this Expedition.

(o) *Æliani* var. *Histor. lib. 6. c. 8.* (p) *Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.* (q) *Plutarchus in Demosthene & Phocione. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 555. Justin. lib. 9. c. 3.* (r) *Justin. lib. 9. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 557.*

And the next year after (s) he sent *Parmenio*, *Amyntas*, and *Attalus*, three of his chiefest captains, into *Asia* to begin the war, purposing soon after to follow in person with all his forces, and carry the war into the heart of the *Persian* Empire. But when he was just ready to set forward on this expedition, he (t) was slain at home, while he was celebrating the marriage of *Cleopatra* his daughter with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. *Pausanias*, a young noble *Macedonian*, and one of his guards, having had his body forced, and sodomitically abused by *Attalus*, the chief of the King's confidants, he had often complained to *Philip* of the injury, but finding no redress, he turned his revenge from the author of the injury, upon him that refused to do him justice for it, and slew him, as he was passing in great pomp to the Theatre to finish the Solemnities, whereby he honoured his daughter's marriage. It (u) is observed by *Diodorus*, that in this solemnity the images of the twelve gods and goddesses being carried before him into the Theatre, he added his own for the thirteenth, dressed in the same pompous habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himself the honour of a god; but he being slain as soon as this image entered the Theatre, this very signally proved him to be a mortal. After his death he was succeeded by *Alexander* his son, being then twenty years old.

About the same time, *Arses* King of *Persia* (w) was slain by the like treachery, but not for so just a cause. For *Bagoas* finding that *Arses* began to be apprised of all his villanies and treasons, and was taking measures to be revenged on him for them, for the preventing hereof, he came before-hand with him, and cut off him and all his family.

(s) Justin. & Diodor. ibid. (t) Justin. lib. 9. cap. 6.
Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558, 559. (u) Diodor. Sic. lib. 16.
p. 558. (w) Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

After *Bagoas* had thus made the throne vacant by the murder of *Arfes*, he placed on it (x) *Darius*, the third of that name that reigned in *Persia*. His true name was *Codomannus*; that of *Darius* he took afterwards, when he came to be King. He is said not to be of the Royal family, because he was not the son of any King that reigned before him. However, he was of the Royal feed, as descended from *Darius Notbus*. For that *Darius* had a son called *Ostanes*, of whom mention is made in (y) *Plutarch*, and he had a son called (z) *Arsanes*, who marrying *Syfigambis* his sister, was by her the father of *Codomannus*. This *Ostanes*, *Ocbus* (a) put to death on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons. How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter is no where said; only it is to be observed, that in the former part of *Ocbus*'s reign he made a very poor figure; for he was then no more than an (b) *Astanda*, that is, one of the publick posts or couriers, that carried the Royal dispatches through the Empire. If we suppose him to have been the chiefest of them, in the same manner, as there is a Postmaster in *England*, and a *Chaous-Bashee* at *Constantinople*, over all the rest of that order and employment, (which is the highest interpretation the word will bear) this will be but a low office for one of the Royal blood to be employed in. But in the war which *Ocbus* had with the *Cadusians*, toward the latter end of his reign, a (c) bold champion of that nation, having challenged the whole *Persian* army to find him a man to fight a single combat with him, and *Codomannus* having accepted the challenge after all others had refused, and slain the *Cadusian*, for the reward of this action he was made governor of *Armenia*, and from thence, after

(x) Diodor. ibid. (y) In Artaxerxe. (z) Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564. (a) Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 5. (b) Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri & in vita ejusdem. (c) Diodor. ibid. Justin. lib. 10. cap. 3.

the death of *Arfes*, by the means of *Bagoas*, ascended the Throne in the manner as I have mentioned. But he had not been long on it, ere *Bagoas* finding that he was not one that would answer his purpose, in permitting him to govern all in his name, (which was the thing he aimed at in his advancement) resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had his Predecessor, and accordingly provided a poisonous Potion for him. But (d) *Darius* being advised of the design, when the Potion was brought to him, made him drink it all himself, and so got rid of the Traitor by his own Artifice, and thereby became thoroughly settled in the Kingdom, without any farther difficulty. The Character given of him is, that he was for his Stature and the make of his Body the goodliest Person in the whole *Persian* Empire, and of the greatest personal Valour of any in it, and of a Disposition mild and generous. But having the good Fortune of *Alexander* to encounter with, he could not stand against it. And he had been scarce warm on the Throne before he found this Enemy preparing to dismount him from it.

For *Alexander*, soon after his Father's death, (e) having called the General Council of all the States and Free Cities of *Greece* to meet again at *Corinth*, there prevailed with them to be chosen his Successor in the same general command, which they had conferred on him before his Death, for a War against the *Persians*, and all excepting the *Lacedæmonians* consented hereto. But the War which *Alexander* had with the *Illyrians* and *Triballians*, calling him North, as far as the River *Danube*, in his absence the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and some other Cities, agreed to revoke this Decree, made in his Favour, and entered into a confederacy against him. But *Alexander* returning Conqueror from his Northern Wars, soon brake this League. For (f) passing the Straits of *Thermo-*

(d) Diodor. ibid. (e) Justin lib. 11. c. 2. Arrian lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564. (f) Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 566, 567, &c.

pylæ with his victorious Army he terrified the *Athenians* into a Submission, and several other Cities following their Example made their Peace with him, only the *Thebans* stood out; whereon *Alexander* laying Siege to their City took it by storm, and absolutely destroyed it, slaying Ninety Thousand of the Inhabitants, and selling the rest, to the number of Thirty Thousand more, into Slavery. The severity of which Execution spread such a terror of his Arms over all *Greece*, as brought all to submit. So that in a second Council, which he called at *Corinth*, he was again chosen Captain-General of all *Greece* against the *Persians* by an universal Suffrage, and every City consented to its quota both of Men and Money for the carrying on of the War.

Hereon *Alexander* returned into *Macedonia*, and having by the next Spring there gotten his Forces
Anno 334. together, marched (g) with them to *Sestus*,
Darius 2. and there passed the *Hellepont* into *Asia*. The Army which he led thither, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than Thirty Thousand Foot and Five Thousand Horse. And with so small an Army he attempted, and also accomplished, the conquest of the whole *Persian* Empire, and added *India* also to his acquisition. But that which was most remarkable in this Undertaking was, that he set out on it only with (b) seventy Talents, which was scarce sufficient to furnish the Army with necessaries for thirty Days. For the rest he wholly cast himself upon Providence, and Providence did not fail him herein. For within a few days after having encountred the *Persian* Army at the River *Granicus*, he gained a great victory over them, tho' they were above Five times his number, which put him in possession not only of *Darius's* Treasure at *Sardis*, but also of all the Provinces of the Lesser *Asia*. For immediately all the *Grecian* Cities in those

(g) Arrian lib. 1. Plutarch. in Alexandro. (b) At the highest reckoning it comes to no more than 14437 l. 10 s. of our Money.

Parts declared for him, and after that several of the Provinces made their Submission to him, and those which did not, were subdued by Force; and in these Transactions was spent the remaining part of the Year.

Before he went into Winter Quarters, (i) he ordered all of his Army, that had married that Year, to return into *Macedonia*, and spend the Winter with their Wives, and return again in the Spring, appointing three Captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back again at the time appointed; which exactly agreeing with the *Jewish Law* (*Deut. xxiv. 5.*) and being without any instance of the like to be found in the usages of any other Nation, it's most likely *Aristotle* learnt it from the *Jew* he so much conversed with while in *Asia*, and approving of it as a most equitable usage, communicated it to *Alexander*, while he was his Scholar, and that he from hence had the inducement of practising it at this time.

The next (k) Year after, in the beginning of the Spring, he reduced *Phrygia* under his Obedience, and after that *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, and settled all these Provinces under the Government of such of his Followers as he thought fit to appoint.

Anno 333.
Darius 3.

In the (k) interim *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for his defence. The advice which *Memnon* the *Rhodian* then gave him, was to carry the War into *Macedonia*, and a wiser Course could not be taken to extricate him out of the difficulties he was then involved in. For he would be sure there to have the *Lacedaemonians*, and several other of the *Grecian* States, who maligned the *Macedonian* Power, to join with him, which would soon have brought back *Alexander* out of *Asia* to defend his own Country. *Darius* being made fully sensible of the reasonableness of this

(i) Arrian lib. 1. (k) Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius lib. 3.
Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

advice, resolved to follow it, and therefore committed the Execution of it to its Author, making *Memnon* Admiral of his Fleet, and Captain-General of all his Forces that were appointed for this Expedition, and he could not have made a better choice. For he was the wisest Man, and the ablest General that *Darius* had of his side, and for some Years had very faithfully adhered to the *Persian* Interest, and was one of their Generals at the Battle of *Granicus*, and had he been hearkened to by the other Generals, the misfortune, which there hapned, would have been avoided. For his advice was, not then to have hazarded Battle, but to have desolated the Country, through which the *Macedonians* were to march; and had this been followed, *Alexander* would have been forced soon to have returned for want of Provisions to support his Army. But the Rashness and Folly of the other Generals overbearing what he wisely offered, that defeat ensued, which opened the way to the ruin of the *Persian* Empire. However he did not desert *Darius's* interest on the misfortune of that day, but having gathered up the remains of the *Persian* Army, retreated with them first to *Miletus*, and from thence to *Halicanassus*, and lastly to the Isle of *Cos*, where *Darius's* Commission, and the *Persian* Fleet meeting him, he set himself on the Executing of the design committed to his charge; in order whereto he took in *Chios* and all *Lesbos*, except *Mitylene*, purposing next to pass into *Eubæa*, and from thence to have made *Greece* and *Macedonia* the seat of the War. But that City holding out a Siege he there unfortunately died, which proved the ruin of that design, and the ruin of the *Persian* Empire was the consequence of it. For *Darius* having no other General of Valour and Wisdom equal to him for the carrying on of that undertaking, he was forced to drop it. And therefore having nothing now to depend upon for his defence, but his Eastern Armies, (1) he drew them all together at *Babylon*, to the number, saith *Plutarch*, of Six

(1) Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

hundred thousand Men, and marched from thence to meet the Enemy; which *Alexander* hearing of, made haste through *Cilicia* to take possession of the Straits, which led from that Country into *Syria*, purposing there to expect and fight the *Persian* Army. For within those Straits there not being room any where to draw up above Thirty Thousand Men in Battle-array, the *Macedonians* could there bring all their Men to fight, and the *Persians* scarce the Twentieth part of theirs, and therefore should it there come to a Battle, they would have no advantage of their Numbers. Some of the *Greeks* who followed *Darius*, seeing the disadvantage he would have in fighting in that place, advised him to march back into the Plains of *Mesopotamia*, and there expect the Enemy, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, and bring them all to bear their part in the Battle; but the flattery of the Courtiers, and his adverse Fate, would not suffer him to hearken to this advice. For he was made believe that *Alexander* was withdrawing from him, and that therefore he ought to press forward to take him, while entangled in those Straits, lest otherwise he should escape his Hands. This drew *Darius* to fight in those Straits, where being able to extend his front no longer than the *Macedonians*, by reason of the Mountains, which inclosed him on either side, he could dispose of his great Army no otherwise, than by drawing them up in many Lines one behind the other. But the Valour of the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first Line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and that hereby again upon the third, and so on, this did soon put the whole *Persian* Army into disorder; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the Advantage by pressing forward upon those that fled, this increased the Confusion, till at length their whole Army was driven to a rout, and the crowd, which was made in the flight of so numerous an Army through those narrow passes, being very great, the greatest number that fell that Day were of such as were trampled to

Death by their own Men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first Line, with great difficulty got out of the rout, and secured himself by flight; but all his Camp, Bag and Baggage, with his Mother, Wife, and Children (which according to the usage of the *Persian* Kings were carried with him in the Campaign) fell into the Enemies hand, and above an hundred thousand *Persians* were left dead upon the Field of Battle. This Battle was fought at *Iffus* in *Cilicia* towards the latter end of the Year, about the beginning of our *November*, and the immediate consequence of it to the Advantage of *Alexander* was, that it settled all the Provinces behind him in their Subjection to him, and added all *Syria* to his former acquisitions, the Capital whereof was *Damascus*. Thither *Darius* before the Battle had sent his Treasure, and most of his valuable moveables, with his Concubines and the greatest number of the Court Ladies, that followed the Camp, under a Guard to protect them. All these with the Town, the Governor, as soon as he heard of the flight of *Darius*, betrayed unto *Alexander*, and *Parmenio* was sent to take possession of the Place; where besides a vast Treasure in Money and Plate, he found 329 of *Darius's* Concubines, and a great many other Ladies, that were the Wives or Daughters of the Principal Nobility of *Persia*, whom he made all Captives. And among them was *Barsena* the Widow of *Memnon*, who being a Lady of great Beauty, as soon as she came into the sight of *Alexander*, she made a Captive of him; for he fell in love with her, and taking her into his Bed had a Son by her called *Hercules*, who at the Age of Seventeen being called for by the *Macedonians* to be their King, was murdered by the Treachery of *Cassander* and *Polysperchon* to prevent it.

While *Parmenio* took in *Damascus* and *Cæle-Syria*, (m) *Alexander* marched with the main of his Army

(m) Diodorus Siculus lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius lib. 4. Arrian lib. 2. Josephus lib. 11. cap. 8. Justin. lib. 11.

along the Sea Coasts towards *Phœnicia*. As he advanced, all yielded to him, and none more readily than the *Sidonians*. Eighteen Years before, *Ochus* had miserably destroyed that City, and all in it, as hath been above related. On his going back again into *Persia*, those who by being absent on Traffic at Sea, or on other occasions, had escaped that Massacre, returned and again built their City. But ever after detesting the *Persians* for that cruelty to it, they were glad of this occasion of shaking off their Yoke, and therefore were of the first in those Parts, that sent to *Alexander* on his march that way to make their Submission to him. But when he came to *Tyre*, he there found a stop. As he approached their Territories, the *Tyrians* sent Ambassadors to him with Presents to himself, and Provisions for his Army; but being rather desirous to have Peace with him as a Friend, than willing to submit to him as a Master, when he would have entered their City, they denied him admittance; which *Alexander*, now flush'd with so many Victories, not being able to bear, resolved to force them by a Siege, and they on the other hand resolved to stand it out against him. What encouraged them to this resolution was the strength of the Place, and the Confidence which they had in the Assistance promised them by their Allies. For the City then stood on an Island at the distance of half a Mile from the shore, and was fortified with a strong Wall drawn round it upon the brink of the Sea of one hundred and fifty foot in height: And the *Carthaginians*, who were a powerful State, and then Masters of the Seas, had engaged to send them succours in the Siege. And what gave them this confidence for the War, gave *Alexander* no less trouble in mastering the Difficulties, which he found in it. For the City being so situated (as I have said) he had no way of approaching to it for the making of an Assault, but by carrying a Bank from the continent through the Sea to the Island on which the City stood.

And

And therefore having resolved at any rate to take that City, he resolved on the making of such a Bank to approach it, which he accomplished with unwearied labour in seven Months time, and by means thereof at length took the City. Had he here suffered a Baffle, it would have conduced much to the sinking of his Credit, and this might have lessened his Success every where else in the future progress of his Affairs; of which being thoroughly sensible, he spared no pains to surmount this obstacle, and by assiduous application at last carried his point. To make this Bank or Causey, the Town of old Tyre, which lay on the continent, furnished him with Stones and Rubbish, (for he pulled it all down for this purpose) and Mount *Libanus*, which is so famous in Scripture for its Cedars, being near, supplied him with Timber for the Work. And by this means having carried home his Causey from the Continent to the Island, he there stormed the Town and took it. And that Bank or Causey (n) is there still remaining even to this day, and of the very same length as anciently described, that is of half a Mile, whereby what was formerly an Island at that distance from the shore, was thenceforth made a *Peninsula*, and so it hath ever since continued.

The *Carthaginians* having troubles at home, the *Tyrians* could not have from them that assistance which was promised; however they fainted not in their Resolutions of standing to their defence, and therefore when *Alexander* sent to them Ambassadors with Terms of Peace, they threw them into the Sea, and went on with the War. But many of them, for fear of the worst, sent their Wives and Children to *Cartbage*. They had in their City a Brazen Statue or *Colossus* of *Apollo* of a great height: This formerly belonged to the City of *Gela* in *Sicily*; (o) the *Cartha-*

(n) See Maundrel's *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 48, 49, 50.
 (o) Diodorus Sic. lib. 13. p. 390.

ginians having taken *Gela* in the Year 405, sent it to *Tyre* their Mother City, where it was set up and worshipped by the *Tyrians*. During this Siege a Fancy taking them upon a Dream, which some one among them had to this purpose, that *Apollo* was about to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*, for the preventing hereof they chained this Statue with Golden Chains to the Altar of *Hercules*, thinking thereby forcibly to detain this their God from going from them. To such ridiculous imaginations and superstitions was the Religion of those times degenerated. But whatever confidence they might then place in their false Gods, the Oracles of the true God having destinated them to destruction, this became their Fate. For altho' what is predicted of the destruction of *Tyre* by *Isaiab* (chap. 23.) and by *Ezekiel* (chap. 26, 27, 28.) was in part verified in the destruction of that City by *Nebuchadnezzar*, yet there are several particulars in these Prophecies, which seem applicable to this only. For *Nebuchadnezzar's* devastation reached no farther than old *Tyre*, those who were in the Island escaped that ruin. But the desolation of both is plainly threatned in some parts of these Prophecies, that is of that which stood on the Island, as well as that which was on the Continent, and this *Alexander* only effected. Old *Tyre* he wholly demolished to make his Causeway to the new, by the means of which having taken that new Town, he burnt it down to the ground, and destroyed or enslaved all the Inhabitants. Eight thousand he slew in the sackage of the Town, and two thousand of those he took Prisoners he caused to be crucified. Those who were before sent to *Carthage* escaped this ruin, and (p) a great number were saved by the *Sidonians*, and secretly conveyed away in their Ships, on the taking of the place; all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand were sold for Slaves. The cruelty to the two thou-

(p) The number of those who were thus saved Curtius tell us were fifteen thousand.

land who were crucified, was unworthy of a generous Conqueror. This *Alexander* did to gratify his rage, for being so long detained before the Place, and there so valiantly resisted; but afterwards to palliate the matter, he gave out, that it was done by way of just revenge upon them, for their murdering their Masters, and that being Slaves by Origin, Crucifixion was the punishment proper for them. This depended upon an old Story. For (q) some ages before the slaves of *Tyre* having made a Conspiracy against their Masters, murdered them all in one night, (save only *Strato*, whom his slave secretly saved) and marrying their Mistresses continued Masters of the Town; and from them the present *Tyrians* being descended, *Alexander* pretended thus to revenge on them, the murder committed by their Progenitors some ages before; and to make it look the more plausible, he saved all of the family of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them *Azelmelic* their King, who was of it, and continued the Crown still to him and his Family, after he had again repeopled the place. For having thus rid it of its former Inhabitants, he planted it anew with Colonies drawn from the Neighbouring Places, and from thence would be esteemed the founder of that City, though in truth he was the cruel destroyer of it.

On his taking this City he unchained *Apollo*, rendered thanks to him for his intentions of coming over to him, sacrificed to *Hercules*, and did a great many other superstitious Follies, which were reckoned as Acts of Religion in those days, and then marched towards *Jerusalem*.

For the *Tyrians* being wholly given to Merchandise, and neglecting Husbandry, were mostly supplied with provisions by their Neighbours, and (r) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*, being the Countries from which they were chiefly furnished, *Alexander*, when he sat down before *Tyre*, was forced to seek for his provisions

(q) Justin. lib. 18. c. 3.

(r) Acts xii. 20,

from the same Quarters ; and therefore sent out his Commissaries to require the Inhabitants to submit to him, and furnish him with all necessaries for the support of his Army. The *Jews* (s) pleaded their Oath to *Darius*, by which thinking themselves obliged not to own any new Master, so long as he lived, would not obey his commands. This exceedingly anger'd *Alexander*, who in the flush of his late victories thinking all ought to submit to him, could bear no contradiction herein. And therefore as soon as he had done with *Tyre*, he marched against *Jerusalem*, with intention to punish the *Jews*, as severely as he had the *Tyrians*, for not obeying his commands. In this distress, *Jaddua* the High-Priest, who had then the immediate Government of that People under the *Persians*, being in great perplexity, and all *Jerusalem* with him, they had no other course to take, but to fling themselves upon God's Protection, and implore his mercy to them for their deliverance from this danger ; and therefore in order hereto, they made their devout addressees unto him with sacrifices, oblations, and prayers. By which God being moved to compassion towards them, directed *Jaddua*, in a vision of the night, to go out and meet the Conqueror in his Pontifical Robes, with the Priests attending him in their proper Habits, and all the people in white Garments. *Jaddua* in obedience hereto, the next day went forth in the manner directed, with the Priests and People ranged as in a sacred Procession, and all habited as the vision commanded, and advancing to a place called (t) *Sapba* (an Eminence without *Jerusalem*, which commanded a prospect of all the Country round, as well as of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*) there waited the coming of *Alexander*, and on his approach met him in this pompous and solemn manner. As soon as the King saw

(s) Josephus lib. 1. cap. 8. (t) It was so called from the Hebrew *Zapha*, which signifies to see as from a watch Tower, or any other Eminence.

the High-Priest in this manner coming towards him, he was struck with a profound awe at the spectacle, and hastning forward bowed down to him, and saluted him with a religious Veneration, to the great surprise of all that attended him, especially of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who expected nothing less, than that *Alexander* should have destroyed this people, as he had the *Tyrians*; and they came thither with an eager desire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the Execution. While all stood amazed at this behaviour, which was so much contrary to their Expectations, *Parmenio* asked the King the reason of it, and how it came to pass, that he, whom all adored, should pay such adoration to the *Jewish* High-Priest; to which he answered, that he did not pay that adoration to him, but to that God whose Priest he was. For that when he was at *Dio* in *Macedonia*, and there deliberating with himself how he should carry on his war against the *Persians*, and was in much doubt about the undertaking, this very person, and in this very habit, appeared to him in a Dream, and encouraged him to lay aside all thoughtfulness and diffidence about this matter, and pass boldly over into *Asia*, promising him that God would be his guide in the expedition, and give him the Empire of the *Persians*; and that therefore on his seeing this person, and knowing him by his habit, as well as by his shape and countenance, that he was the very same that appeared to him at *Dio*, he assured himself from hence, that he made the present war under the conduct of God, and should certainly by his assistance conquer *Darius*, and overthrow the *Persian* Empire, and succeed in all things concerning it according to his desire; and that therefore in the Person of this his Priest he paid adoration unto him. Hereon turning again to *Jaddua*, he kindly embraced him, and entered *Jerusalem* with him in a friendly manner, and offered Sacrifices to God in the Temple; where *Jaddua* having shewn him the Prophecies

of

of *Daniel*, (u) which predicted the overthrow of the *Persian Empire* by a *Grecian King*, he went from thence with the greater assurance of success in his farther carrying on of the war, not doubting but that he was the person meant by those Prophecies. All which particulars rendring him kindly affected to the *Jews*, he called them together when he was on his departure, and bid them ask what they had to desire of him. Whereon they having petitioned him, that they might enjoy the freedom of their Country-Laws and Religion, and be exempted every seventh year from paying any Tribute, because in that year, according to their Law, they neither sowed nor reaped, *Alexander* readily granted them all this request, which brought another very troublesome solicitation upon him.

For he was scarce gone out of *Jerusalem*, but (w) he was accosted by the *Samaritans*, who met him in great pomp and parade, and prayed him that he would honour also their City and Temple with his presence. These are *Josephus's* words, and they plainly prove, that the Temple which they invited *Alexander* to, must have been built long before that time, and not by leave from him, while he was at the Siege of *Tyre*, as he elsewhere by mistake relates. For if it had not been built, but by leave from him, while at that Siege, the first foundations of it could scarce have been laid by this time. For the Siege of *Tyre* lasted only seven Months, and immediately from the taking of it he came to *Jerusalem*. The same *Josephus* indeed tells us, that *Alexander* from *Tyre* went immediately to *Gaza*, and did not, till after two Months more spent in the taking of that City, come to *Jeru-*

(u) That is, what is written in *Daniel of the Ram and He-Goat*, chap. viii. where that He-Goat is interpreted to be the King of *Grecia* who should conquer the *Medes and Persians*, (ver. 21.) and also what is written by the same Prophet of the said *Grecian King*, chap. xi. 3. For both these Prophecies foretold the destruction of the *Persian Empire* by a *Grecian King*. (w) *Josephus* *ibid*.

salem. But herein he must be again (x) mistaken. For *Jerusalem* lying in the way from *Tyre* to *Gaza*, it's by no means likely, that *Alexander* should from *Tyre* go directly to *Gaza*, then passing by *Jerusalem*, and afterwards return three or four days march with all his Army back again to that City, or that he should at all think it safe to begin the Siege of *Gaza*, while such a City as *Jerusalem* was left untaken behind him : And moreover, all that write of the life and actions of *Alexander* tell us, that from the taking of *Gaza*, he went directly into *Egypt*. And therefore taking it for certain, that his progress was from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*, and from thence to *Gaza*, I have related it in this order. However, supposing it were otherwise, there would hereby be only two months more added to the seven above-mentioned, for the building of this Temple, the Siege of *Gaza* lasting no longer, and this would not much mend the matter, it being as improbable that such a Temple could be built in nine Months as in seven. When the *Jews* refused to obey that Summons which *Alexander* sent them from *Tyre* to submit to him, (xx) these *Samaritans* readily complied with it, and to ingratiate themselves the more with him, sent eight thousand of their men to assist him in that Siege ; and valuing themselves upon this merit, thought they had a much better title to his favour than the *Jews*, and therefore finding how well the *Jews* had fared, thought they might obtain at least the same, if not much greater grants from him ; and in order hereto made this procession to invite him to their City, and the eight thousand *Samaritans* that were in *Alexander's* Army joined with them herein. *Alexander* answered them kindly, telling them, that he was hastening into *Egypt*, and had not then time to spare, but that when he should come back again, he would comply with their desires, as far as his affairs would per-

(x) Vide Ufferii Annales sub Anno mundi 3673. (xx) Josephus ibid.

mit. They then requested of him to be discharged from paying Tribute on the seventh year. Hereon *Alexander* asked them whether they were *Jews*; for to them only had he granted this privilege. To this they answered, that they were *Hebrews*, who observing the same Law the *Jews* did, neither reaped nor sowed in that year, and he having for this reason granted the *Jews* this immunity, they desired of him, that having the same plea for it, they might have the same grant also. *Alexander* not being then at leisure to make full inquiry into this matter, referred this also to his return, telling them that then he would fully inform himself as to what they proposed, and would do therein what should be reasonable, and then marched on to *Gaza*.

On his arrival at that City (y) he found it strongly garrison'd under one of *Darius's* Eunuchs named *Betis*, who being a very valiant man, and very faithful to his master, defended it to the utmost; and it being the inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not pass thither, till he had taken it. This necessitated him to sit down before it; and notwithstanding that the utmost of military Skill, and the utmost of Vigour and Application was made use of in the assailing of the Place, yet it cost *Alexander* and all his Army two months time, before they could master it. The stop which this did put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the Siege, provoked his anger to that degree, that on his taking the place, he treated the Commander, and all else that he found in it, with inexcusable Cruelty. For having slain ten thousand of the men, he sold all the rest, with their wives, and children, into slavery; and when *Betis* was brought to him (whom they took alive in that assault wherein they carried the place) instead of treating him in a manner suitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous Conqueror ought

(y) Josephus *ibid.* Plutarchus in *Alexandro.* Q. Curtius lib. 4. cap. 6. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, and a cord to be drawn through them, and caused him thereby to be tied to the hinder part of a Chariot, and dragged round the City till he died, bragging that herein he imitated his Progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* has it, thus dragged *Hector* round the walls of *Troy*. But that was a barbarous act in the Example, and much more so in the imitation. For it was only *Hector's* dead Carcase that *Achilles* dragged round *Troy*; but *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive; and thus made him die in a cruel manner, for no other cause, but that he faithfully and valiantly served his Master in the Post committed to his Charge, which was deserving of reward even from an Enemy, rather than of so cruel a punishment; and *Alexander* would have acted accordingly, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity, rather than the fictions of *Homer*, the rule of his Actions. But that young Conqueror having the *Iliads* of this Poet in great admiration, always carried them with him, laid them under his pillow when he slept, and read in them on all leisure opportunities; and therefore finding *Achilles* to be the great Hero of that Poem, he thought every thing said of him in it worthy of his imitation, and the readiest way to make him an Hero also; and the vanity of being thought such, and the eager desire which he had of making his name in like manner to be celebrated in After-ages, was the main impulsive cause of all his undertakings. But in reality, were all his actions duly estimated, he could deserve no other Character, than that of the great Cut-throat of the age in which he liv'd. But the folly of mankind, and the error of Historians is such, that they usually make the actions of war, bloodshed, and conquest, the subject of their highest encomiums; and those their most celebrated Heroes, that most excel therein. In a righteous cause, and the just defence of a man's Country, all actions of valour are indeed just reasons of praise; but in all other cases, victory and conquest are no more

more than murder and rapin, and every one is to be detested as the greatest enemy to mankind, that is most active herein. Those are only true Heroes, who most benefit the world by promoting the peace, welfare, and good of mankind; but such as oppress it with the slaughter of men, the desolation of Countries, the burning of Cities, and the other calamities which attend war, are the scourges of God, the *Attila's* of the age in which they live, and the greatest plagues and calamities that can happen to it, and which are never sent into the world but for the punishment of it; and therefore ought as such to be prayed against, and detested by all mankind. To make these the subject of praise and panegyric, is to lay ill examples before Princes, as if such oppressions of mankind were the truest ways to honour and glory. And we knew a late Prince who having broke through Treaties, Leagues and Oaths, to rob his neighbours of their Territories, gave no other reason for the war, but that it was for his Glory. And it is too plain, that the like vain and false Notions of gaining Glory this way, is that grand impulse upon the minds of Princes, which moves them to most of those destructive wars upon each other, whereby the peace of the World is so often disturb'd, and such great mischiefs and calamities brought upon mankind.

As soon as *Alexander* had finished the Siege of *Gaza*, and settled a Garrison there, he (z) marched directly for *Egypt*, and on the seventh day after arrived at *Pelusum*, where he was met by great numbers of the *Egyptians*, who thither flocked to him, to own him for their Sovereign, and make their submission to him. For their hatred to the *Persians* was such, that they were glad of any new comer, that would deliver them from that insolence and indignity, with which they treated them, and their Religion. For how bad soever any Religion may be (and a worse

(z) Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius lib. 4. Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

than that of the *Egyptians* could scarce any where be contrived) yet as long as it is their National Religion, no Nation will bear affront and indignity to be offered to it, and nothing usually provokes a people more than such a treatment. *Ochus* had slain their God *Apis* in a manner of indignity, the most affronting that could be offered to them, or their Religion; and the *Persians*, whom he left to govern the Country, carried on the humour of treating them in the same manner, which raised their indignation against them to so great an height, that when *Amyntas* came thither a little before but with an handful of men, they were all ready to have joined with him, for the driving of the *Persians* out of the Country. This *Amyntas* having revolted from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the Commanders of the mercenary *Greeks* at the battle of *Iffus*, (a) from whence having brought off four thousand of his men, he got to *Tripoly* in *Syria*, and having seized as many of the ships, which he found there, as would serve his purpose, he burned the rest, and sailed thence first to *Cyprus*, and then to *Pelufium* in *Egypt*, and seized that place. For coming thither under pretence of a Commission from *Darius* to be Governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Sabaces* the former Governor, who was slain at *Iffus*, he by this means got quiet admission thither; but as soon as he had made himself Master of that strong Fortrefs, he declared his intentions of seizing *Egypt* for himself, and driving the *Persians* thence; and great numbers of the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Persians*, readily joined with him for this purpose; whereon he marched directly for *Memphis*, the Capital of that Kingdom, and in the first battle which he had with the *Persians* he got the victory, and shut them up within the walls of that City. But after this success *Amyntas* permitting his Soldiers to straggle for the plundering of the Country, the *Persians* took the

(a) Arrian. lib. 2, Q. Curtius lib. 4. c. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 587, 588.

advantage of fallying upon them, while thus scattered, and cut them all off to a man, and *Amyntas* with them. However this did not quell the averſion which the *Egyptians* bore the *Persians*, but rather increaſed it. So that when *Alexander* entered that Country, he found the people univerſally diſpoſed to receive him with open arms; and therefore he had no ſooner reached their borders, but multitudes of them came thither to him to welcome him into the Country, and make their ſubmiſſion to him. For he coming thither with a victorious Army, was thereby enabled to give them thorough protection, which they could not ſo well promiſe themſelves from *Amyntas*, and therefore on his approach they immediately, without reſerve, all declared for him: whereon *Mazæus*, who commanded at *Memphis* for *Darius*, ſeeing it in vain to ſtruggle againſt ſuch a power, ſubmitted alſo, and opening the gates of that City to the Conqueror, yielded up all to him, whereby without any farther oppoſition he became forthwith Maſter of the whole Country.

From *Memphis* he projected a Journey to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, which was ſituated among the Sands and Deſarts of *Libya*, at the diſtance of two hundred miles from *Egypt*. For (b) *Ham* the Son of *Noah*, as he was the firſt planter of *Egypt* and *Libya* after the Flood, ſo he became, in the Idolatrous Ages that after followed, the great God of thoſe Countries; and there being an Iſland of about five miles breadth of firm Land among thoſe Deſarts of Sand, they there built a Temple to him. He was the ſame whom the *Greeks* called *Jupiter*, and the *Egyptians*, *Ammon*. And hence it is, that the City in *Egypt*, which the Scriptures call (c) *No Ammon* (that is the City of *Ham* or *Ammon*) is by the *Greeks* called *Dioſpolis* (that is the City of *Jupiter*.) After-times did put the *Egyptian* name and the *Greek* name both to-

(b) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. lib. i. cap. i. (c) Jeremiah xlvj. 45. Ezekiel xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

gether, and called him *Jupiter Hammon*. *Alexander's* journey to this Temple was upon a design very foolish and vain-glorious, and according to the Religion of those times altogether as impious. For finding in *Hom*er, and other Fables of ancient times, that most of their Heroes were described as sons of some God or other; and aiming to be celebrated an Hero as well as they, he would be thought the Son of a God also, and having chosen *Jupiter Hammon* to be his Father in this farce, he (d) sent Messengers before to corrupt the Priests, to cause him to be declared the Son of that God by their Oracle, when he should come to consult it, and then followed after to receive the honour of that Declaration.

In his way thither (e) observing a place over-against the Island of *Pharus* on the Sea-Coast, which he thought a very convenient place for a new City, he there built *Alexandria*, which thenceforth became the Capital of that Kingdom. For it having a very convenient Port, and the Mediterranean before it, and the *Nile* and the Red Sea behind it, by virtue of these advantages it drew to it the Trade both of the *East* and the *West*, and thereby soon grew up to be one of the most flourishing Cities of the World. But Trade having taken another Current in these latter ages, on the finding out of a way to *India* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, it is (f) now degenerated into a poor village, by the *Turks* called *Scandaria*, remarkable for nothing else, but that it still shews some of the ruins of what it anciently was. *Alexander* in the building of this City made use (g) of *Denocrates* for his Architect, whose name had been made famous in that Art by his rebuilding the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephe*sus, which had been burnt by *Erostratus*; and having

(d) Justin. lib. 11. cap. 11. Orosius lib. 3. cap. 16. (e) Arrian. lib. 3. Q. Curtius lib. 4. c. 8. Strabo lib. 17. p. 590. (f) See Thevenot's *Travels*, Part 1. Book 2. Chap. 1, 2. (g) Plin. lib. 5. c. 10. Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 22. c. 16. Strabo lib. 14. p. 641. Solinus c. 32. 40.

by his advice drawn a plan of the City, and set out its Walls, Gates and Streets, he left him to perfect the work according to it, and went on in his journey to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. It was from thence at the distance of sixteen hundred furlongs (that is two hundred of our miles) and most of the way was through sandy Deserts, in which he did run two great hazards, the first of being overwhelmed by the Sands, and the other of perishing for want of Water. By the former *Cambyfes* lost an army of fifty thousand men in these Deserts (as hath been above related) and by the latter he had like to have been lost himself, and all with him, but that they were miraculously relieved by a shower of rain, when they were just ready to faint to death for want of it. And indeed all his other undertakings were of a piece with this, they being all a series of bold, rash, and dangerous actions, in which he must have perished an hundred times over, had not Providence in as miraculous a manner as now preserved him through all of them, for the bringing to pass of those Events which he was designed for. Having, on his coming to the Temple, there paid his devotions, and received from the Oracle the Declaration of his being *Jupiter's Son*, which he went thither for, he returned in great Triumph with that Title, and thenceforth in all his Letters, Orders and Decrees, stiled himself *King Alexander Son of Jupiter Hammon*, giving it out that this God begot him on *Olympias* his Mother in the shape of a Serpent. But while he prided himself in the honour, which he vainly assumed hereon, every body else despised him for the folly of it; however he persisted in it, did many acts of violence and cruelty to make it pass upon others, and suffered it to grow upon him with his prosperity so far, as at length to affect the being thought a God himself, till in the conclusion, when Providence had no more for him to do, his death shewed him to be a Mortal like other men.

In his return he came again to *Alexandria*, and (b) took care to people his new City with Colonies drawn thither from many other places, among which were many of the *Jews*, to whom he gave (i) great Privileges, not only allowing them the use of their own Laws and Religion, but also admitting them equally into the same Franchises and Liberties with the *Macedonians* themselves, whom he planted there, and then departing from thence he returned to *Memphis*, and wintered in that place.

It is remarked by *Varro*, that at the time that *Alexander* built *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, the use of the *Papyrus* for writing on was first found out in that Country. The *Papyrus* (k) in its proper signification is a sort of great *Bulrush* growing in the Marshes of *Egypt* near the *Nile*. It runs up in a triangular stalk to the height of about fifteen foot, and is usually a foot and half in circumference, and sometimes more. When the outer skin is taken off, there are next several films or inner skins one within another, and naturally partable from each other. These when separated and flaked from the stalk, made the paper which the ancients used, and which, from the name of the Tree that bore it, they called also *Papyrus*. The manner how it was fitted for use may be seen in the 11th and 12th Chapters of the thirteenth Book of *Pliny's* Natural History, and the Book intitled *de Papyro*, which *Guilandinus* hath written by way of comment upon them. But the clearest and best account hereof is given us by *Salmasius* in his Comment on the Life of *Firmus* in *Vopiscus*, who was one of the Writers of the *Historia Augusta*. From this *Papyrus* it is, that (l) what we now make use of to write upon hath also the name of *Paper*, though of quite ano-

(b) Q. Curtius lib. 4. cap. 8. (i) Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2. & de Bello Judaico lib. 2. cap. 36. (k) Plin. lib. 12. c. 13. Guilandinus de Papyro. Pancirol. Part 2. Tit. 13. Salmuth in eundem. Parkinson's Herbal, Tribe 13. ch. 39. (l) Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*.

ther nature from the ancient *Papyrus* of the *Egyptians*. Many other devices were made use of in former times to find fit materials to write upon. *Pliny* (*m*) tells us, that the ancientest way of writing was upon the leaves of the Palm-Tree. Afterwards they made use (*n*) of the inner Bark of a Tree for this purpose; which inner Bark being in Latin called *Liber*, and in Greek Βίβλος, from hence a Book hath ever since in the Latin Language been called *Liber*, and in the Greek Βίβλος, because their Books anciently consisted of leaves made of such inner Barks. And the *Chinese* still make use of such inner Barks or Rinds of Trees to write upon, as some of their Books brought into *Europe* plainly shew. Another way made use of among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and which was as ancient as *Homer* (for he makes mention of it in his Poems) was to write (*o*) on Tables of Wood covered over with wax. On these they wrote with a Bodkin or *Style* of Iron, with which they engraved their Letters on the wax, and hence it is that the different ways of mens Writings or Compositions are called different *Styles*. This way was mostly made use of in the writing of Letters or Epistles; hence such Epistles are in Latin called (*o*) *Tabellæ*, and the Carriers of them (*o*) *Tabellarii*. When their Epistles were thus written, they tied the Tables together with a thread or string, setting their seal upon the knot, and so sent them to the party to whom they were directed, who cutting the string opened and read them. But (*p*) on the invention of the *Egyptian Papyrus* for this use, all the other ways of writing were soon superseded, no material till then invented being more convenient to write upon than this. And therefore when (*q*) *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt* set up to make a great Library, and to gather all sorts of Books into it, he caused them to be all copied

(*m*) Lib. 13. cap. 11. (*n*) Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Liber*.
 (*o*) Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Tabula*. (*p*) Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*. (*q*) Plin. lib. 13. c. 11.

out on this sort of paper. And it was exported also for the use of other Countries, till *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* endeavouring to erect a Library at *Pergamus*, which should outdo that at *Alexandria*, occasioned a prohibition to be put upon the Exportation of that Commodity. For the (q) *Ptolemy*, that then reigned in *Egypt*, not liking that his Library should be outdone by any other, to put a stop to *Eumenes*'s Emulation in this particular, forbade the carrying any more *Papyr* out of *Egypt*, thinking that without it he could no farther multiply his Books. This put *Eumenes* upon the invention of making Books of Parchment, and on them he thenceforth copied out such of the works of learned men, as he afterwards put into his Library, and hence (r) it is that parchment is called *Pergamena* in Latin, that is from the City *Pergamus* in Lesser *Asia*, where it was first used for this purpose among the *Greeks*. For that *Eumenes* on this occasion first invented the making of Parchment cannot be true. For in (s) *Isaiab*, (t) *Jeremiah*, (u) *Ezekiel*, and other parts of the Holy Scriptures, many ages before the time of *Eumenes*, we find mention made of Rolls of writing; and who can doubt, but that these Rolls were of Parchment? And it must be acknowledged that the authentic Copy of the Law, (w) which *Hilkiab* found in the Temple, and sent to King *Josiah*, was of this material, none other used for writing, excepting Parchment only, being of so durable a nature as to last from *Moses*'s time till then (which was 830 Years.) And it is said by (x) *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Persians* of old wrote all their Records on skins. And (y) *Herodotus* tells us of Sheeps skins, and Goats skins, made use of in writing by the ancient *Ionians*, many hundreds of years before *Eumenes*'s time. And can any one think, that

(q) Plin. lib. 13. c. 11. (r) Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Pergamena*. (s) Chap. viii. 1. (t) Chap. xxxvi. (u) Chap. ii. 9. and Chap. iii. 1, 2, 3. (w) 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv. (x) Lib. 2. p. 84. (y) Herodotus lib. 5.

these skins were not dressed and prepared for this use in the same manner as Parchments were in the after-times, though perchance not so artificially? It's possible *Eumenes* might have found out a better way of dressing them for this use at *Pergamus*, and perchance it thenceforth became the chief Trade of the place to make them; and either of these is reason enough from *Pergamus* to call them *Pergamenæ*. These were found so useful for Records and Books by reason of their durableness, that most of the ancient Manuscripts we now have are written in them. But from the time that the noble Art of Printing hath been invented, the Paper which is made of the paste of Linen Rags, is that which hath been generally made use of both in Writing and in Printing, as being the most convenient for both, and the use of Parchment hath been most appropriated to Records, Registers, and Instruments of Law, for which, by reason of its durableness, it is most fit. The Invention of making this sort of Paper Mr. Ray puts very late. For he tells us (z) in his Herbal, that it was not known in *Germany* till the year of our Lord 1470; that then, two men named *Antony* and *Michael*, brought this Art first to *Basil* out of *Gallicia* in *Spain*, and that from thence it was learnt and brought into use by the rest of the *Germans*. But there must be a mistake in this, there being both printed Books, as well as Manuscripts, of this sort of Paper, which are certainly ancients than the year 1470. There is extant a Book (a) called *Catholicon*, written by *Jacobus de Janua*, a Monk, printed on Paper at *Mentz* in *Germany*, Anno 1460; and therefore the *Germans* must have had the use of this sort of Paper long before the time that Mr. Ray saith. And there are Manuscripts written on this sort of Paper that are much ancients, as may be especially evidenced in several Registries within this

(z) Lib. 22. cap. 2. (a) This Book is in the Library collected by Dr. John Moor, late Bishop of Ely. See the Oxford Catalogue of the Manuscripts of England and Ireland. Tome 2. Part 1. p. 379.
 Realm,

Realm, where the dates of the Instruments or Acts registered prove the time. There is in the Bishop's Registry at *Norwich* a Register Book of Wills all made of Paper, wherein Registrations are made which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just an hundred years before the time that Mr. Ray saith the use of it begun in *Germany*. And I have seen a Registration of some Acts of *John Cranden*, Prior of *Ely*, made upon Paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of King *Edward* the Second, that is *Anno Domini* 1320. This Invention seems to have been brought out of the *East*. For most of the old Manuscripts in Arabic, and the other oriental Languages, which we have from thence, are written in this sort of Paper, and some of them are certainly much ancients, than any of the times here mentioned about this matter. But we often find them written on Paper made of the paste of Silk, as well as of Linen. It's most likely the *Saracens* of *Spain* first brought it out of the *East* into that Country; of which *Gallicia* being a Province, it might from thence, according to Mr. Ray, have been first brought into *Germany*: But it must have been much earlier than the time he says.

Ptolemy the Astronomer being an *Egyptian*, and a Native of *Alexandria*, begins the reign of *Alexander* over the *East* from the building of this City, and here ends the reign of *Darius* and the *Persian* Empire; and therefore I will here also end this Book.





THE
OLD *and* NEW TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel*
and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VIII.



Alexander, while he wintered at *Memphis*, settled the Affairs of *Egypt*. The (a) military Command he intrusted only with his *Macedonians*, dividing the Country into several districts, under each of which he placed Lieutenants independent of each other, not thinking it safe to

Anno 331.
Alexander 1.

(a) Arrian. lib. 3. Q. Curtius lib. 4. c. 8.

commit the whole military power of that large and populous Country into one man's hands. But the Civil Government he placed wholly in *Doloaspes* an *Egyptian*. For his intentions being, that the Country should still be governed by its own Laws and Usages, he thought a Native, who was best acquainted with them, the properest for this Charge. And (b) that the finishing of his new City *Alexandria*, (so called from his name) might be carried on with the more expedition and success, he appointed *Cleomenes* to be his Supervisor in that work, who continued many years in this Charge, and hence it is, that in (c) *Justin* he is said to be the Founder of that City. He was (d) of *Naucratis*, a *Grecian* City in *Egypt*, there built by a Colony (e) of the *Milesians* in times long before past. *Alexander* did also set him over the Tribute of *Arabia*, but being a very wicked man, he abused both these Trusts to the great oppression of all that were under him, till at length he received the just reward of all his evil deeds in an ignominious death. For *Ptolemy*, after he had possessed himself of *Egypt*, finding him plotting against him for the interest of *Perdiccas*, (f) caused him to be executed for it. There is extant a Letter of *Alexander's* to him of a very odd nature. For therein commanding him on the death of *Hephestion*, to build two Temples to that Favourite, one in *Alexandria*, and the other in the Island of *Pharus* adjoining, to excite his diligence herein, he promiseth him such a pardon, as the Pope often gives to his deluded Votaries, that is (g) of all his evil deeds past, present, and to come. But this did not save him from the just vengeance, which Providence at length by the hand of *Ptolemy* brought upon him for all his wicked and unjust Actions.

(b) Arrian. & Q. Curtius ibidem. Aristotelis Oeconom. lib. 2.
 (c) Justin. lib. 13. c. 4. (d) Arrian. lib. 3. (e) Strabo lib. 17.
 p. 801. Stephanus & Suidas in Νάυκρατις. (f) Pausanias in
 Argicis. (g) Arrian. lib. 7.

When *Alexander* had thus disposed of all matters in *Egypt*, the Spring drawing on, he hastned towards the East to find out *Darius*. In (b) the way on his returning to *Palestine*, he had an account from thence, which very much displeased him. On his going from that Country into *Egypt*, he had made *Andromachus*, a special favourite of his, Governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*; on (b) whose coming to *Samaria* to settle some matters there, the *Samaritans* mutinied against him, and rising in a Tumult, set fire to the House in which he was, and burnt him to death. This it is supposed they did out of a rage and discontent, that those Privileges should be denied them, which were granted to their Enemies the *Jews*; whereas by their services to *Alexander*, especially at the Siege of *Tyre*, they thought they had merited much more from him, than the other, who had then denied him their assistance. *Alexander* being exceedingly exasperated hereby against that People, as the fact sufficiently deserved, caused all that had acted any part in this murder to be put to death, and drove all the rest out of the City of *Samaria*, planting there instead of them a Colony of his *Macedonians*, and giving (i) their other Territories to the *Jews*. Those that survived this Calamity, retired to *Shechem* under mount *Gerizim*; and from this time, that place became the head seat of this People, and the Metropolis of the *Samaritan* Sect, and so continues even to this day. And whereas eight thousand *Samaritans* had joined him at *Tyre*, and followed his Camp ever since, that they might not on their return revive this mutinous temper of their Countrymen, to the creating of new disturbances, (k) he sent them into *Thebais*, the remotest Province of *Egypt*, and settled them on such Lands, as he there caused to be divided unto them.

(b) Q. Curtius lib. 4. cap. 8. Eusebii Chronicon, p. 177. Cedrenus.

(i) Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2. (k) Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

On *Alexander's* return into *Phœnicia* (1) he staid some time at *Tyre*, that he might there settle the affairs of those Countries, which he was to leave behind him, before he did set forward to acquire more. And when he had there ordered all matters as he thought fit, he marched with his whole Army to *Thapsacus*, and having there passed the *Euphrates*, directed his Course towards the *Tigris* in quest of the Enemy. *Darius* in the interim, having solicited *Alexander* for peace three several times, and finding by his answers, that none was to be expected from him, but on the Terms of yielding to him the whole Empire, applied himself to provide for another Battle; in order whereto he got together at *Babylon* a numerous Army, it being (2) by one half bigger than that which he fought at *Iffus*, and from thence took the Field with it, and marched towards *Niniveh*; thither *Alexander* followed after him, and having passed the *Tigris*, got up with him at a small Village called *Gaugamela*, where it came to a decisive Battle between them, in which *Alexander* with fifty thousand men (for that was the utmost of his number at that Battle) vanquished the vast army of the *Persians*, which was above twenty times as big; and this in an open plain Country, without having the advantage of straits to secure his Flanks, as in the Battle of *Iffus*, and hereby the fate of the *Persian* Empire was determined. For none after this could to any purpose make head against him, but all were forced to submit to the Conqueror, and he thenceforth became absolute Lord of that Empire in the utmost extent, in which it was ever possessed by any of the *Persian* Kings. And hereby was fully accomplished all that which in the Prophecies (3) of *Daniel* was foretold concerning him. This Battle happened in

(1) Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. Q. Curtius lib. 4. c. 8. Arrian lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

(2) *Darius had in this battle about eleven hundred thousand men.*

(3) *Daniel* vii. 6. and viii, 5, 6, 7, 20, 21. and x. 20. and xi. 3.

the Month of *October* much about the same time of the year, in which was fought the battle of *Iffus* two years before, and the place where it was fought was *Gaugamela* in *Affyria*; but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a Battle from so contemptible a place, but called it the Battle of *Arbela*, because that was the next Town of any Note, though it were at the distance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck.

Darius after this defeat (*n*) fled into *Media*, intending from thence, and the rest of the Northern Provinces of his Empire, to draw together other Forces for the farther trial of his fortune in another Battle. *Alexander* pursued him as far as *Arbela*, but before his arrival thither, he was by the quickness of his flight got out of his reach. However he there took his Treasure, and his Royal Equipage and Furniture, which was of vast value, and then returned to his Camp; where having allowed his Army such time of rest, as was necessary for their refreshment, after the fatigue of the Battle, he marched towards *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was Governor of that City, and the Province belonging to it, and had been one of *Darius's* Generals in the late Battle; where after the defeat, having gathered together as many of the scattered Forces of the *Persians* as he could, he retreated with them to that Place. But on *Alexander's* approach with his victorious Army, he had not the Courage to stand out against him, but going forth to meet him surrendered himself and all under his charge to him: And *Bagaphanes* the Governor of the Castle, where the greatest part of *Darius's* Treasure was kept, did the same; and both acted herein as if they were at strife, which of them should be most forward to cast off their old master, and receive the new. After thirty days tarrying in that City,

(*n*) Plutarch. in *Alexandro*. Q. Curtius lib. 5. Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Siculus lib. 17.

he continued *Mazeus*, for the reward of his Treachery, in the Government of the Province; but placing a *Macedonian* in the command of the Castle, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched to *Susa*, and from thence, after the taking of that City, to *Persepolis* the Capital of the Empire, carrying victory with him over all the Provinces and Places in the way. Arriving at *Persepolis* about the middle of *December*, he gave the City to be sack'd by his Army, reserving only the Castle and Palace to himself. Hence followed a vast slaughter upon the Inhabitants, and all other Barbarities, which in this case use to be acted by Soldiers let loose to their rage and licentiousness. This City being the Metropolis of the *Persian* Empire, and that which of all others bore the greatest enmity to *Greece*, he did this (he said) to execute the revenge of *Greece* upon it. After the Cruelty of this Execution was over, leaving *Parmenio* and *Craterus* in the place, with the greatest part of his Forces, he made a range with the rest over the neighbouring Countries, and having reduced them all to a Submission to him, return'd again to *Persepolis* after thirty days, and there took up his winter Quarters.

While *Alexander* lay at this place (o) he gave himself much to feasting and drinking, for
 Anno 330.
 Alexander 2. joy of his victories, and the great Conquests he had made. In one of his Feasts, wherein he entertained his chief Commanders, he invited also their Misses to accompany them, one of which was *Thais* a famous *Athenian* Courtezan, and then Miss to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards King of *Egypt*. This woman in the heat of their Carousals, proposed to *Alexander* the burning down of the City and Palace of *Persepolis*, for the revenging of *Greece* upon the *Persians*, especially for the burning of *Athens* by *Xerxes*. The whole Company being drunk,

(o) Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius lib. 5. Arrian. lib. 3. Diodorus Siculus lib. 17. Justin. lib. 11.

the proposal was received with a general applause, and *Alexander* himself in the heat of his wine running into the same humour immediately took a Torch, and all the rest of the Company doing the same, they all went thus armed with him at their head, and setting fire to the City and Palace, burnt both to the ground; which *Alexander*, when he came again to his senses, exceedingly repented of, but then it was too late to help it. Thus at the motion of a drunken Strumpet, was destroyed by this drunken King, one of the finest Palaces in the world. That this at *Persopolis* was such, the ruins of it sufficiently shew, (p) which are still remaining even to this day at a place called *Chebel-Minar* near *Sbiras* in *Persia*. The name (q) signifieth in the *Persian* Language *Forty Pillars*, and the place is so called, because such a number of Pillars, as well as other stately ruins of this Palace, are there still remaining even to this day.

In the interim *Darius* being fled to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, (r) there gathered together as many of his broken Forces as fled that way, and endeavoured all he could to raise others to add to them, for the making up of another Army. But *Alexander* having by the beginning of the Spring settled all his affairs in *Persia*, made after him into *Media*. Of this *Darius* having received intelligence left *Ecbatana*, with intentions to march into *Bactria*, there to strengthen and augment his Army with new recruits. But he had not gone far, ere he altered his purpose. For fearing lest *Alexander* should overtake him before he could reach *Bactria*, he stopp'd his march, and resolved to stand the brunt of another Battle with the forces then about him, which amounted to about forty thousand men Horse and Foot. But while he was preparing for it, *Bessus* Governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes* another *Persian* Nobleman confederated with

(p) See the *Travels* of Herbert, Thevenot, and Chardin. (q) Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum p. 113. (r) Arrian. lib. 3. Diodorus Siculus lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Curtius lib. 5.

him in the Treason, seized the poor unfortunate Prince, and making him their Prisoner, put him in chains, and then shutting him up in a close Cart, fled with him toward *Bactria*, purposing, if *Alexander* pursued after them, to purchase their peace with him, by delivering him alive into his hands; but if he did not pursue after them, then their intentions were to kill him, and seize his Kingdom, and renew the war. *Alexander* on his coming to *Ecbatana*, found *Darius* was gone from thence about eight days before; however he pursued hard after him for eleven days together, till he came to *Rages*, a City of *Media* often mentioned (s) in *Tobit*, and which was the place where *Nabuchodonosor* King of *Assyria* is said, in the Book (t) of *Judith*, to have slain *Arphaxad* King of *Media*. Here finding that it was in vain to pursue after *Darius* any farther, he staid in this place some days for the refreshing of his Army, and for the settling of the affairs of *Media*. Of which having made *Oxidates* a noble *Persian* Governor, he marched into *Parthia*; where having received intelligence of *Darius's* Case, and what Danger he was in from those Traitors, who had made him their Prisoner, he put himself again upon the pursuit after him with part of his Army, leaving the rest under the Command of *Craterus* to follow after him. And after several days hard march, he at last came up with the Traitors. Whereon they would have persuaded *Darius* to mount on Horseback for his more speedy flight with them; but he refusing thus to do, they gave him several mortal wounds, and left him a dying in his Cart. *Pbilistratus* one of *Alexander's* Soldiers found him in this condition, but he expired before *Alexander* himself came up to him. When he saw his Corps, he could not forbear shedding of tears at so melancholy a Spectacle; and having cast his Cloke over it, he commanded it to be wrapp'd up therein, and carried to *Sisygambis* at *Susa*, (where he had left her with the

(s) Chap. i. 14. and iv. 1.

(t) Chap. i. 15.

other Captive Ladies) to be buried by her with a Royal Funeral, in the burying place of the Kings of *Persia*, and allowed the Expences necessary for it. And this was the end of this great King, and also of the Empire over which he reigned, after it had lasted from the first of *Cyrus* two hundred and nine years. After this fact, *Nabarzanes* fled into *Hyrkania*, and *Bessus* into *Bactria*; and there he declared himself King by the name of *Artaxerxes*.

Alexander (tt) was not stayed by the death of *Darius* from still pursuing after the Traitor *Bessus*, but finding at length that he was gotten too far before him to be overtaken, he returned again into *Parthia*; and there having regulated his affairs in the Army, as well as in the Province, he marched into *Hyrkania*, and received that Country under his subjection. After that he subdued the *Mardans*, *Arians*, *Drangians*, *Aracausians*, and several other Nations; over which he flew with victory swifter than others can travel, often with his Horse pursuing his enemies upon the Spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of *Darius* of near forty miles a-day for eleven days together. So that by the speed of his marches he came upon his Enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the Description given of him in the Prophecies of *Daniel* some ages before, he being in them set forth under the similitude (u) of a Panther or Leopard with four wings: For he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a Panther after his prey, and came on upon his Enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is in another place of those Prophecies compared to an (w) He-Goat coming from

(tt) Plurarchus in Alexandro. Diodorus Siculus. Arrian. Q. Curtius, & Justin. ibidem. (u) Daniel vii. 6. (w) Daniel viii. 5.

the West with that swiftness upon the King of *Media* and *Persia*, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the Prophecy.

While *Alexander* was among the *Drangeans*, (x) discovery was made of a conspiracy formed against his life, of which *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio*, one of the chief commanders in his Army, and principal Confidents, being found to be the head, was put to death for it with all his accomplices. And whether *Alexander* thought *Parmenio* to have been in the Plot also, or feared his revenge for the death of his son, he sent to *Ecbatana*, where he had left him with part of his Forces to guard his Treasure which he had there laid up, and caused him to be put to death also; which brought great envy upon him, this old Commander having been his chief assistant in conducting his Armies to most of those victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this *Alexander*, notwithstanding the approach of Winter, marched still forward to the North, and subdued all in his way, carrying on his conquests as far as Mount *Caucasus*, where having built a City, which from his name he called also *Alexandria*, as he had several others, he there terminated the actions of this year.

Early the next Spring (y) he made after *Bessus*, and having driven him out of *Bactria*, and settled that Province under his Obedience, he followed him into *Sogdiana*, the Country now called *Cowaresmia*, where he was retired. This Province being separated from *Bactria* by the River *Oxus*, which was large and deep, *Bessus's* chief confidence was in the unpassableness of it. For having taken away or destroyed all the shipping and boats that were to be found on it, he thought *Alexander* could not possibly get over it to pursue him

(x) Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius lib. 6. cap. 7, 8, 9, &c. (y) Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius lib. 7.

any farther. But no difficulty being unfurmountable to that Conqueror, he found means by stuff'd skins and such other devices to get his Army all over; whereon *Bessus's* followers despairing of his case, seized his person and delivered him bound to *Alexander*, who gave him into the hands of *Oxatres* the brother of *Darius*, to be punished by him as he should think fit, for the Treason he had been guilty of in murdering his King. For after the death of *Darius* this *Oxatres* surrendered himself to *Alexander*, who very kindly received him, and admitted him into the number of his friends, and treated him with favour as long as he lived. And *Oxatres* having thus gotten the Traitor into his hands, made him die such a death as his Treason deserved.

Sogdiana breeding a great number of Horses, (2) *Alexander* came thither very opportunely for the remounting of his Cavalry. For by the quick and fatiguing marches which he had made, he had either kill'd or spoiled most of the Horses of his Army. But notwithstanding, he had not such quick success in his Conquests here, as in other Provinces. For he had not now to do with the effeminate *Persians* and *Babylonians*, but with the *Sogdians*, *Dabans*, and *Massagets*, valiant and hardy people, who were not but with great difficulty to be subdued. And therefore this Province found him a full year's work, before he could bring it into thorough subjection to him. It lay upon the Eastern side of the *Caspian* Sea, between the River *Oxus* on the South and the River *Orxantes* on the North; the last of these *Quintus Curtius* and *Arrian* call *Tanais*, very erroneously. For the River *Tanais* is much more to the West, and dischargeth itself not into the *Caspian* but into the *Euxin* Sea, and is the same which we now call the *Don*. *Pliny* (a) takes notice of this mistake, and tells us it proceeded from *Alexander's* Soldiers calling it so, and that in

(2) *Q. Curtius* lib. 8. *Arrian*. lib. 4. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 17.
 (a) *Lib.* 6. c. 16.

his time it was called *Silys*. The Capital of this Province was *Maracanda*, a great City of near ten miles in compass, and is the same, which being now called *Samarcand*, is the chief City of the *Usbeck Tartars*. While *Alexander* lay there with his Army, towards the beginning of Winter (*b*) he basely, in a drunken fury, murdered *Clitus*, one of the best of his friends; which afterwards he condemned himself for, as much as every body else; for it was a very vile action, and the greatest blot of his life. After he had thoroughly subdued the *Sogdians*, and reduced such of the *Bactrians* as had revolted from him, he took up his Winter Quarters in *Nautaca*, and there gave his Army rest and refreshment for three months.

While he lay there, being wholly at ease from the fatigues of war, (*c*) he fell in love with *Roxana*, the daughter of *Oxyathres* a noble *Persian*, who was among the captive Ladies in his Camp, and took her to Wife. She was the most beautiful Woman of her time, and also one of the most wicked, as afterwards by her actions, especially in the murder of *Darius's* daughters, she sufficiently made appear. That *Alexander's* marrying this Lady might be made no objection against him among his *Macedonians*, he encouraged as many of their Leaders and prime men as he found inclined that way to do the same, and take them wives in like manner from among the *Persian* Ladies. So that most of the time that he spent in these Quarters, was taken up in making such Marriages, and in nuptial Feastings upon them.

But while these things were a doing in the Camp, (*d*) *Alexander's* head was busy in projecting an Expedition into *India*; his main incentive to this dangerous and unprofitable enterprise, was all an excess of vanity and folly. He had read in the

(*b*) Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius lib. 8. c. 1. Arrian. lib. 4.

(*c*) Q. Curtius lib. 8. c. 4. Arrianus lib. 4. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

(*d*) Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius lib. 8. c. 5, 9, 10, &c. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 12. c. 7.

old Grecian Fables, that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, two of *Jupiter's* Sons, had made this Expedition into *India*, and he would fain in Emulation of them do the same. For having been declared *Jupiter's* Son, as well as they, he would not be thought to come behind them in any thing, and he had Flatterers enow about him to blow him up into this conceit. And about this time it was that he began to require divine Honours to be paid to him, and commanded that all, that were admitted to make addressees unto him, should adore him, as formerly they had the *Persian* Kings. All his old Friends misliked this conduct in him, and none more than *Callisthenes* the Philosopher. He (e) was a Kinsman of *Aristotle*, *Alexander's* Master, and had been sent by him to attend this young Conqueror on his first entering on the *Persian* war, and had accompanied him through all his Expeditions ever since, and being a very wise and grave Man, was thought the properest person to advise and direct him against those excesses, which the heat of his youth might carry him into. And this being the whole end for which he was sent to attend him, he could not but express his dislike of this folly. But *Alexander* not being able to bear the freedom with which he expressed himself in this matter, caused him to be put to death for it ; which, next the death of *Clitus*, is that which of all his other actions bore hardest upon his reputation ; and indeed, if duly estimated, it was by much the worst of the two : For he was in the heat of wine, and also highly provoked by saucy and abusive language, when he slew *Clitus* ; but *Callisthenes* he did put to death deliberately and designedly, and for no other reason, but that he expressed his dislike of those follies, which he was sent on purpose by his instructions and advice to correct in him.

But before (f) he went on this *Indian* Expedition, he very providently took care to secure all in quiet

(e) Laertius in vita Aristotelis. Plutarchus in Alexandro & in Sylla.
 (f) Arrianus lib. 4. Q. Curtius lib. 8. c. 5.

behind him, and therefore while he lay in those Quarters at *Nautaca*, he removed several of the Governors of Provinces who had oppressed their Provincials, and remedied all the Grievances they had been guilty of towards them, that none might have any just cause in his absence to create disturbances, or make any risings against him or his Authority, in any parts of the Empire. And the better to provide against all such, as well as for the more successful carrying on of the new war which he was going to enter upon, he caused thirty thousand young men, of the sons of the principal men of the conquered Countries, to be listed for the augmenting of his Army, that having them with him in this expedition, they might be Hostages with him for the good behaviour of their Relations, as well as useful to him in the War.

On his marching into *India*, (g) his Army, with these augmentations, consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand men, *Grecians* and *Persians*, besides fifteen thousand which he left with *Amyntas* in *Bactria*, to keep those parts in quiet. Many Nations on this side the River *Indus* were then reckoned to be of *India*; and in subduing of those was this whole year employed. (b) Some of them he conquered by force, and some he received by submission. But none pleased him more than those that welcomed him as the third Son of *Jupiter* that had come among them, meaning *Bacchus* and *Hercules* for the other two; so far was he intoxicated with the vain conceit of being thought the Son of that imaginary God. Among those whom he subdued by force were the *Assacans*. But *Cleopbis*, the Queen of that Nation, being a very beautiful Woman, redeemed her Kingdom by prostituting her body to his lust, whereby she incurred that infamy and contempt among the *Indians*, that they afterwards called her by no other name than

(g) Q. Curtius ibid.
Plutarchus in Alexandro.

(b) Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius lib. 8.

that of the *Royal Whore*. By this concubinage she had a Son, whom from the name of his Father she called *Alexander*, who afterwards reigned in those parts; and if *Paulus Venetus* may be believed, there were in a certain Province of *India*, which he calls *Balascia*, Kings of his race reigning there even to his time.

Early the next spring (i) he passed the River *Indus*, over a Bridge of boats there prepared for him, and from thence marched forward to the River *Hydaspes*. Between these two Rivers lay the Kingdom of *Taxiles*, who submitted to him. But beyond the *Hydaspes* lay the Kingdom of *Porus*, a Prince of great valour and power, who was there ready with a great Army to impede his farther progress. This, on *Alexander's* passing that River, produced a fierce battle between them, wherein, after a fight of eight hours, *Porus's* Army was vanquished with a great slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner; but the magnanimity and generosity of his carriage under his misfortune so took with *Alexander*, that he again restored to him his Kingdom, and also augmented it. For after this having passed the River *Acesinis*, which terminated *Porus's* Kingdom on the East, and taken all the Territory that lay between that and the River *Hydraotes*, he added this also to *Porus's* Dominions. After this passing the *Hydraotes*, he marched to *Hypaphis*, and would gladly have passed that River also, and gone on to the *Ganges*. But his Soldiers being weary of following him any farther in these expeditions of Knight-errantry, forced him there to put an end to his farther progress. And therefore having on the Banks of that River erected twelve large Altars, for a memorial of his having been there, he marched back again to the *Hydaspes*, where having at the place where he vanquished *Porus* built a City, which he called *Nicaea*, in memory of that victory; and ano-

Anno 327.
Alexander 5.

(i) Plutarchus, & Curtius ibid, Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian. lib. 5.
ther

ther not far from it, which he called *Bucephala*, in memory of his Horse *Bucephalus*, which there died, he ordered his Fleet to be drawn thither to him, for his passing down that River into the *Indus* and the Southern parts of *India*, purposing to carry on his Arms and Conquests that way as far as the Ocean, and then to return to *Babylon*.

This Fleet (k) he had ordered to be prepared from his first passing the *Indus*, and it had been ever since a making ready for him in the several places that he had appointed, which when it was all brought together, amounted to two thousand vessels of all sorts. The chief command hereof he gave to *Nearchus*, and then putting his army on board, he sailed down the *Hydaspes* into the *Acesinis*, and through that into the *Indus*. For the first of these fell into the second, and the second into the third. In his way, he had to do with two very valiant Nations, the *Oxidracians* and the *Mallians*. The former of these inhabited where the *Hydaspes* fell into the *Acesinis*, and the other where *Acesinis* fell into the *Indus*. Both these he forced into a submission, tho' not without great difficulty. And while he besieged one of the Cities of the *Mallians*, he was very near losing his life: For being the first that scaled the Walls, he rashly leaped into the City, before any others were at hand to second him, and was there almost wounded to death, ere any of his followers could get in to rescue him. Thence he sailed down the *Indus* as far as the Ocean, conquering all the Nations in his way on both sides that River. When he had passed the mouth of the *Indus* into the Southern Ocean, and had now carried his Conquests to the utmost boundaries of the Earth on that side, he reckoned that he had obtained all that he proposed, and therefore returning back to Land, when he had given such orders as he thought fit for the settling of his *Indian* Conquests, he sent *Nearchus*, with great

(k) Arrian. lib. 6. Q. Curtius lib. 9. Plutarchus in Alexandro. part

part of the Fleet which was fittest for the voyage, back again into the Ocean, ordering him to sail that way to the *Persian* Gulph, and up through that into the *Euphrates*, and meet him at *Babylon*, and then he with his Army marched over Land towards the same place.

The (1) way that he took in his march thither, was through the Southern Provinces of *Persia*; a great part of which being a very barren Country and full of sandy Desarts, he suffered very much in his passage through it, both for want of Water as well as of Provisions; and the scorching heat of the Climate added to the Calamity, which grew so great, that it destroyed a great part of his Army. And to this it was chiefly owing, that he did not bring back above a fourth part of the number which he first carried with him into *India*. When he arrived in the Province of *Carmania*, (the same which, retaining its ancient name, is still called *Kerman*) he marched in a Bacchanalian Procession for seven days together through that Province, in way of Triumph for his *Indian* Conquests. For it seems he had heard that *Bacchus* returned in this manner after his like expedition into that Country: For he much affected to imitate *Bacchus* and *Hercules* in all this Expedition; and he did too much the former of them, for a great part of his life, in that excessive drunkenness which he gave himself up unto.

Nearchus having coasted along all the Countries from the *Indus* to the Mouth of the *Persian* Gulph, arrived at the Isle of *Harmuzia*, (now called *Ormuz*) where hearing that *Alexander* was within five days journey of that place, he went to him, and gave him an account of his voyage, and what discoveries and observations he had made in it; with which being exceedingly delighted, he sent him back again to

(1) Plutarchus, Curtius, Arrianus *ibid.*

compleat his first Orders, and sail up the *Euphrates* to *Babylon*, as he had appointed.

While *Alexander* was in *Carmania*, he had many Complaints made to him of the oppressions exercised by his Lieutenants, and other Officers in the Provinces, during his absence in *India*. For reckoning that he would never come back again, several of them did let themselves loose to Rapine, Tyranny, and all manner of Cruelty and Oppression. All these he caused to be put to death, for the expiation of their crimes, and with them six hundred of the Soldiers, who had been their instruments in these enormities; and he exercised the same severity upon all other of his Officers, whom he after that found in the same abuses, which conduced very much to the making of his Government acceptable to the conquered Provinces.

Being exceedingly pleased with the successful voyage that *Nearchus* had made with his Fleet, and the account which he gave him of his discoveries, he resolved on more Sea adventures, purposing no less, than from the *Persian* Gulph to sail round *Arabia* and *Africa*, and return by the Mouth of the Straits (then called *Hercules's* Pillars, now the Straits of *Gibraltar*) into the Mediterranean Sea; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, at the command of *Neco* King of *Egypt*, (of which an account hath been above given.) In order hereto, he sent his commands to his Lieutenants in *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, for a Fleet of ships, fit for such an undertaking, to be forthwith built at several places on the *Euphrates*, especially at *Thapsacus*, ordering great quantities of Timber to be cut down on Mount *Libanus*, and carried thither for this purpose. This shews the greatness of his designs; but this, as well as others of them, were quash'd by his death.

On his coming to *Pasargada*, he was much offended at the violation which had been offered to the sepulchre

sepulchre of *Cyrus*, who was there buried. For since he was last there, (which was a little after his taking of *Persepolis*) it had been broken up and robbed. The *Magians*, who had the keeping of the sepulchre, and several others, were put to the torture, for the finding out of the Authors of the sacrilege. But no discovery being made this way, at length, by the Malice of *Bagoas*, a beloved Eunuch of *Alexander's*, the whole guilt was charged upon *Orsines*, the Governor of the Province. This *Bagoas* was a very beautiful young Eunuch; *Nabarzanes*, who conspired with *Bessus* in the imprisonment, and afterwards in the death of *Darius*, presented him unto *Alexander* for the service of his lust; and by this present saved his life, so acceptable was the Catamite to him for this vile use; and by being thus frequently used by him, he grew so far into his favour, that he prevailed with him to sacrifice this noble *Persian* to his Revenge, contrary to all honour, justice and gratitude: For he had very much served him, especially in that Province; for *Pbrasaortes*, the Governor of it, dying while *Alexander* was in *India*, and all things there being like to run into confusion upon it, for want of one to take care of the Government, he took upon him to supply that defect, and preserved all things there in good order for the service of *Alexander* to the time of his arrival thither; and on his entering the Province, met him in the most honourable manner, and being a person of great wealth, as well as of ancient Nobility, he presented him and his followers with many noble presents, to the value of several thousands of Talents. But when he presented the rest of *Alexander's* friends and favourites, taking no notice of *Bagoas*, and saying withal, when he was put in mind of him, *That he paid his respects to the King's friends, not to his Catamites*; this so angered the Eunuch, that to work his revenge he contrived, that the whole charge of violating the sepulchre of *Cyrus* was turned upon the Governor of the Province; and having suborned false witnesses

to accuse him of this and many other enormities, he prevailed with *Alexander* to put him to death, in the manner as I have said ; which, considering the services he had done him, and the munificence with which he had received him on his entering into his Province, is deservedly reckoned one of the basest of his Actions.

From *Pasargada* he marched to *Persopolis*, where he lamented his folly in having burned that City ; from thence he passed on towards *Susa* ; in his way thither he met *Nearchus* with his Fleet. For (m) *Nearchus*, according to his Orders, had sailed up the *Persian* Gulph into the *Euphrates*, but there hearing *Alexander* was on his march towards *Susa*, he sailed back again to the mouth of the *Pisitigris*, and from thence up that River to a bridge which *Alexander* was to pass. And there the Land Army and the Sea Army meeting, they both joined together. For which *Alexander* offered Sacrifices of Thanksgiving to his Gods, and made great rejoicings in his Camp, and high honours were there given to *Nearchus*, for his successful Conduct of the Fleet, in bringing it safe through so many dangers to that place.

When *Alexander* came to *Susa*, where he had left all the Captive Ladies at his last being there, (n) he took to wife *Statira* the eldest of *Darius's* Daughters, and gave the younger called *Drypetis* to *Hephestion* his chief Favourite, and at the same time married most of the rest of them, to the number of about an hundred, to others of his commanders and principal followers. For they being the daughters of the prime Nobility of the *Persian* Empire, he hoped by these marriages to make such a union of the *Grecians* and *Persians* together, as should render them both as one

(m) Arrianus de rebus Indicis. (n) Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro, & in Libro de Fortuna Alexandri. Arrianus lib. 7. where by mistake this daughter of *Darius* is called *Barfina*. For *Barfina* was the Concubine, not the wife of *Alexander*, and the Daughter of *Artabazus*, not of *Darius*. She was first married to *Memnon*, and after his death being taken into the bed of *Alexander*, she had a Son by him called *Hercules*.

Nation under his Empire. And for five days together these Nuptials were celebrated with great Pomp and Solemnity, and all manner of Feasting and Rejoicing. All the Dowries of these Ladies *Alexander* paid, and at the same time distributed great rewards to such of his followers as had best deserved of him in the wars, and paid the debts of all the Soldiers of the Army; which last Article alone amounted to ten thousand Talents, *Justin* and *Arrian* say twenty thousand. On these and other such occasions he expended vast Sums, which were all supplied him out of the immense Treasures of *Darius*. For out of them he laid up in his Treasury at *Ecbatana* only (o) an hundred and ninety thousand Talents, besides what he had at *Babylon*, and in other Treasuries through the Empire.

These Nuptial Solemnities being over, he left the main of his Army under the Conduct of *Hephestion*, (p) and with the rest went on board the Fleet, which he had caused to be brought up the *Euleus*, (in (q) *Daniel* called the *Ulai*) on which *Susa* stood, and sailed down that River into the *Persian* Gulph, and from thence passed up the *Tigris* to the City *Opis*, where *Hephestion* met him with the rest of the Army. On his coming to that place, he (r) caused it to be proclaimed through the whole Army, that all those *Macedonians*, who by reason of their age, or the wounds they had received in the wars, or other infirmities, found themselves unable any longer to bear the fatigues of the Camp, should have full Liberty to return into *Greece*, declaring his intentions to dismiss them bountifully, and to cause them with honour and safety to be conveyed to their own homes. This he intended as a Kindness to them, but it being

(o) *Justin*. lib. 12. cap. 1. *This amounts to above thirty five millions and an half of our money, according to the lowest calculation. But according to Dr. Bernard's computation, it comes to near forty millions.*

(p) *Arrian*. lib. 7.

(q) *Chap. viii. ver. 16.*

(r) *Plutarchus* in *Alexandro*. *Arrianus* lib. 7. *Q. Curtius* lib. 10. c. 2.

taken by another handle, as if he were weary of his *Macedonians*, and dismiss them only to make room for the new Recruits, which he had lately raised out of the conquered Countries, to be taken into the Army in their stead, they fell into a mutiny, and desired all to be dismiss, telling him, that since he despised his Soldiers, by whom he had gained all his Victories, he and his Father *Hammon* might alone wage his wars for the future, they would serve him no longer. Thus his folly in challenging that imaginary God for his Father, how much soever he valued himself upon it, was made his reproach on this, as well as on all other occasions by every body else. This mutinous humour, though it broke not out till on this occasion, had been long a breeding among them. They disliked his affecting the *Persian* Manners and Habit, his marrying a *Persian* Lady, and his causing so many of his followers to do the same. But that which disgusted them most, was his ingrafting the new recruits, which he made out of the conquered Countries, into the *Macedonian* Militia, and the advancing of many *Persians* to places of Honour and Trust, both in the Army, and in the Provinces, equally with the *Macedonians*. For he having conquered by them alone, they thought they alone ought to reign with him, and engross all his favours, and therefore were grievously discontented with all the methods which he took for the uniting of the *Persians* with them; and these discontents being heightened by every step which he made for the effecting of this Union, at length broke out into a Mutiny on the Occasion mentioned. Whereon he having punished some of them, and this being of no effect to reduce the rest, he retired into his Tent, and there shut himself up for two days; after that, on the third, he called together his *Asiatic* Soldiers, excluding the *Macedonians*, and spoke very kindly to them, assured them of his favour, and treated them as if he intended for the future wholly to depend upon them, choosing his Guards out of them, and advancing several of them

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to places of honour and trust, without taking any farther notice of the mutineers, which soon brought them to a better temper. For seeing themselves thus kept at a distance, and wholly neglected, and excluded the favours they formerly enjoyed, they came to the door of his Tent with Tears of repentance, and there continued for two days in humble supplication for his pardon and favour; this prevailed with him on the third to admit them into his presence, and be reconciled unto them; and from this time they no more mutinied against him, or faulted any of his proceedings.

From *Opis*, he marched by several stations to *Ecbatana* in *Media*. While he was there (*s*) he lost his Favourite *Hephestion*. For having drunk too hard he contracted a Fever by it, and of that he died. For *Alexander* having long given himself up to great drinking, encouraged his followers in it, drinking sometimes whole days and nights with them; and it is said, that in one of these drunken bouts at which he was present, the Excess was carried on so far, (*t*) that forty persons died of it. The death of this favourite was much lamented by him, and his Funeral was solemnized with extravagant Honours, as well as Expences, and also with as extravagant Cruelty. For he caused his Physician to be crucified, for no other reason, but that he could not make a man immortal, who by all manner of Excesses did the utmost he could to kill himself. And this cruelty was the more signal, in that the Patient himself baffled all that the Physician prescribed for his recovery. For when to allay the heat of his fever, and make way for remedies to take place for the cure of it, the Physician had directed an abstinence from all flesh-meats and wine, he refused to be restrained from either, but took both in such quantities as soon put it beyond

(*s*) Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

(*t*) Athenæus lib. 10. cap. 12. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Ælianus Histor. var. lib. 2. c. 41.

the power of Physick to give him any relief; and thus by the cause of his distemper, and by wilfully disappointing all the means of being cured of it, he became doubly his own murderer; and yet the poor Physician, who could help neither, was forced to answer for all. And many instances may be given of such irrational and unjust actions, where Will and Pleasure rule without restraint, which often upon reflection bring the Authors themselves to the bitterness of regret, and too late repentance, and may be sufficient to let all such see, that it is the interest of Princes, as well as of their people, that their authority be regulated by such just Laws, as may hinder them from doing such irrational and unjust things, as often passion and humour, when let loose from all restraint, may carry men into.

Alexander, to divert his grief after this loss, (u) led his Army against the *Cossæans* (a warlike Nation in the Mountains of *Media*, which none of the *Persian* Kings could ever bring into subjection to them) and having in a war of forty days wholly subdued them, he passed the *Tigris*, and marched towards *Babylon*. On his approach near that place, the Magians and other Prognosticators sent advice to him not to come thither, several signs portending, that his entering that City would prove fatal unto him. But contemning all these, he marched with his whole army into that place; where he found Ambassadors from all Quarters of the world waiting his coming thither; to all which he gave audience in their order, and took care to return such answers to every one of them, as would send them away from his presence best pleased with him.

While he continued at *Babylon* (which was near the space of a whole year) he projected many designs; one was the circumnavigation of *Africa*, another for the making of a full discovery of the *Caspian* Sea, and of all the Nations round it; and for

(u) Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian. lib. 7. Plutarchus in Alexandro.
both

both these he had provided Fleets. Another was to conquer the *Arabians*, and a fourth to make war against the *Carthaginians*, and carry on his Conquests to the Pillars of *Hercules*, having a great ambition in all things to imitate that Hero of the *Grecian* Poets. And besides all these, he had many designs for the improving of *Babylon*. For finding it not only in its greatness, but also in the abundance which it was supplied with of all things necessary, either for the support or pleasures of life, to exceed all other places of the East, he resolved there to fix the seat of his Empire, and therefore projected to add all the improvements to it that it was capable of. What damage that place, as well as the Country about it, suffered by *Cyrus's* breaking down the Banks of the *Euphrates* at the head of the Canal called *Pallacopa*, I have above shewn. This he did set himself to remedy in the first place, whereby he would have recovered a whole Province, which was drowned by the overflowings of the River in that place, and also have made the River itself much more navigable, and consequently much more profitable to the *Babylonians*, by turning the main of the stream again that way, as formerly it had been. In order hereto, he sailed to the place where the breach was made, and having taken a view of it, he immediately ordered that to be done for the repairing of it, which he thought would have remedied the evil. How he failed of the effect hath been already said. But that which he chiefly set his heart upon, was to repair the Temple of *Belus*. This *Xerxes* destroyed in his return from *Greece*, (as hath been above related) and it had lain in its rubbish ever since. This he purposed to (*w*) build again, and in a more stately and magnificent manner, than it had been before. In order whereto in the first place he commanded the ground where it stood to be cleared of its Rubbish; but finding the *Magians*, to whom he had committed the care of the work,

(*w*) Arrian. lib. 7. Diodorus Sic. lib. 17.

went on but slowly with it, he employed his Soldiers to assist them, and although ten thousand of them laboured every day in this work for two months together, to the time of his death, yet were they forced to leave it imperfect, the ground being still uncleared, so great were the ruins of the old Building that were left upon it. But when it came to the turn of the *Jews*, who then served *Alexander* among his *Asian* recruits, to labour in this work, (x) they could not by any means be induced to put the least helping hand to it, arguing that their Religion being against Idolatry, it forbade them to do any thing towards the building of an idolatrous Temple, and to this resolution they all firmly stood; so that tho' several severe punishments were inflicted upon them for it, not one of them could be brought to recede from it, whereupon *Alexander* admiring their constancy dismissed them his service, and sent them all home into their own Country.

But the greatest part of the time that *Alexander* lay in *Babylon*, was spent in gratifying himself in the pleasures and luxuries of the place, especially in drinking, which he carried up to the utmost excess, spending sometimes whole days and nights in it, till at length he drunk himself into a fever, of which in a few days after he died, in the same manner as his Favourite *Hephestion* had before him.

This happened about the middle of the Spring, (y) in the first year of the hundred and Anno 323. Philip 1. fourteenth Olympiad, which fell in the year before Christ 323. At his death there went a general report that he died of Poison; and the same hath been said of other great Princes, when they have died unexpectedly, and often with very little reason for it. He having sat out one long drinking bout was immediately invited to another, at which there

(x) Josephus contra Apionem lib. 1. (y) Arrian. lib. 7. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius lib. 10. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

being twenty in company, (z) he drank to every one of them in their order, and pledged each of them again, and then (a) calling for the *Herculean Cup*, (which held six of our Quarts) he drank this full to *Proteas* a *Macedonian*, who was one of the Guests; and a little after pledged him again in the same. And he having done thus much, I think there needed no other poison to kill any man living. Immediately after this last Cup he dropp'd down upon the place, and then fell into that violent fever, of which he died. However, that he died of poison was not only a transient report, but a fix'd and lasting opinion among the *Macedonians*; and there were such strong reasons to make it believed, as rendred it very probable, that a poisonous liquor was also one ingredient of the Cup that kill'd him. (b) The sons of *Antipater* were charged to be the Authors of this Treason, and the common report was, that *Cassander* the eldest of them brought the poison out of *Greece*, and that *Iollas* his Brother, who was Cup-bearer to *Alexander*, gave it to him, and that he chose this time for it, that the excessive quantity of wine which he then drank, might cover this worser cause of his death. *Alexander* a little before this time having dismissed ten thousand of his Veterans, who were past service, sent *Craterus* to conduct them into *Greece*, with Commission to succeed *Antipater* in his Government of *Macedon*, *Thrace* and *Thessaly*; and ordered *Antipater* to come to him to *Babylon*, to take *Craterus's* place in the Army. But *Antipater* being jealous, and not without good reason, that he was sent for to be put to death for the many Male-administrations he had been guilty of in his Government, did by the hands

(z) Athenæus lib. 10. cap. 11. & lib. 12. cap. 18. (a) Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Seneca Ep. 83. Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. 5. c. 21. Athenæus lib. 11. c. 17. (b) Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 7. Diodorus Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 12. cap. 13, 14. Pausanias in Arcadicis. Q. Curtius lib. 10. c. 10. Plin. lib. 30. c. 16. Vitruvius lib. 8. c. 3.

of his sons execute this Treason upon the life of *Alexander* to save his own. And the death of *Alexander* happening so convenient to deliver him from his danger, made it the more believed that he was the Author of it. And it is certain *Cassander* could never after overcome the Odium of it, but was detested for it by the *Macedonians*, as long as he lived. *Pausanias* in his *Arcadics*, tells us of a fountain (c) in *Arcadia* called *Styx*, whose waters are so exceeding cold as to be poisonous. Some water of this fountain, they say, was mingled with the last cup that *Alexander* drank at this entertainment, and thereby it was made mortal to him. This water distills from the Rock *Nonacris*, out of which it proceeds in a small quantity, and is of so piercing a nature, that it breaks through all vessels into which it is put, excepting only a mule's hoof. And therefore they tell us, that it was carried in such a Hoof from *Greece* to *Babylon*, for the executing of this villanous murder.

And here ended all the designs of this great and vain-glorious Prince. Never had any man a greater run of success than he had for twelve years and an half together, (for so long he reigned from the death of his Father;) in that time he subjected to him all the Nations and Countries, that lay from the *Adriatick* Sea to the *Ganges*, the greater part of the then known habitable World. And altho' most of his Actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant rashness, yet none of them failed of Success. His first attempt upon the *Persians*, in passing the *Granicus* with only thirty five thousand men, against an Army above five times as many guarding the Banks of the River on the other side, was what no man else that was well in his wits would have run upon,

(t) Curtius by mistake placeth this Fountain in Macedonia. But Vitruvius, lib. 8. c. 3. Plutarch in the life of Alexander, Strabo lib. 8. p. 389. put it in the same place where Pausanias doth, that is in the Mountain *Nonacris* in *Arcadia*, and tell us, that Alexander was poisoned with the water of it in the same manner as he and others relate.

and yet he succeeded in it ; and this success creating a Panic fear of him through all the *Persian* Empire, made way for all the other victories which he afterwards obtained. For no Army after that, though twenty times the number of his, (as was that of *Arbela*) would take courage enough to stand before him. He was a Man of some virtues, but these were obscured with much greater vices. Vain-glory was his predominant folly, and that which chiefly steered him through all his Actions. And the old *Greek* Ballads, and the Fables of their ancient Heroes, were the patterns from which he formed most of his Conduct. This made him drag *Betis* round the Walls of *Gaza*, as *Achilles* had *Hector* round those of *Troy*. This made him make that hazardous Expedition into *India* ; for *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were said to have done the same. And this made him, in imitation of the former, make that drunken Procession through *Carmania* on his return, which is above mentioned. For *Bacchus* was said to have returned that way in the same manner. And the same was the cause of that ridiculous affectation, whereby he assumed to himself to be called the son of *Jupiter*. For most of the *Grecian* Fables making their Heroes the sons of some God or other, he would not be thought in this as well as not in any thing else to come behind them. But God having ordained him to be his instrument, for the bringing to pass of all that which was by the Prophet *Daniel* foretold concerning him, he did by his providence bear him through in all things for the accomplishing of it, and when that was done, did cast him out of his hand. For he died in the prime vigour and strength of his life, before he had out-lived the thirty-third year of his age.

After his death (*d*) there arose great confusions among his followers about the Succession. But at length, after seven days contest, it came to this agreement, that *Arideus*, a Bastard Brother of *Alexander's*,

(*d*) Curtius lib. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 8. Plutarchus in Eumene. Justin. lib. 13. cap. 1-4.

should

should be declared King; and that if *Roxana*, who was then gone eight months with child, should bring forth a son, that son should be joined with him in the Throne, and *Perdiccas* should have the Guardianship of both. For *Arideus* being an Idiot, needed a Guardian as much as the Infant. After this the Governments of the Empire being divided among the chief Commanders of the Army, all went to take possession of them, leaving *Perdiccas* at *Babylon* to take care of *Arideus*, and direct for him the main affairs of the whole Empire. For some time they contented themselves with the name of Governors, but at length took that of Kings, as they had the Authority from the first. As soon as they were settled in the Provinces to which they were sent, they all fell to leaguings and making war against each other, till thereby they were, after some years, all destroyed to four. These were *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Seleucus*, and they divided the whole Empire between them. *Cassander* had *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyfimachus*, *Thrace*, and those parts of *Asia* as lay upon the *Hellepont* and the *Bosphorus*; *Ptolemy*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, and *Cœle-Syria*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. And hereby (e) the Prophecies of *Daniel* were exactly fulfilled, which foretold, that the great Horn of the *Macedonian* Empire, that is *Alexander*, being broken off, there should arise four other Horns, that is, four Kings out of the same Nation, who should divide his Empire between them; and the manner how they did so, will in the future series of this History be fully declared.

Arideus being thus placed on the Throne, they changed his name to (f) that of *Philip*, and from hence the *Philippean Era* hath its original, which the *Egyptians* computing from the first day of that year in which *Alexander* died, that is from the first day of their *Tboth* preceding, (which fell in the 12th

(e) Daniel vii. 6. viii. 8, 21, 22. xi. 4. (f) Justin. lib. 13. c. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Ptolemæus in Canone.

of our *November*) *Ptolemy* the Astronomer doth the same in his Canon, tho' contrary to the method hitherto observed by him. For in all other Descents preceding this he begins the reign of the successor from the *Thoth* following, and not from the *Thoth* preceding the death of the successor.

Sisygambis the Mother of *Darius*, though she had born with great patience the death of her Father, her Husband, and eighty of her Brothers slain by *Ochus* in one day, and since that the death of her Son and the ruin of his Family, yet (g) could not bear the death of *Alexander*. He had shewn great kindness to her, and not knowing where to expect any more, she took his death to be the completion of her calamity; and therefore on her hearing of it, refused to take any more sustenance, and famished herself to death out of grief for it. Her death was accompanied with that also (b) of her two Grand-daughters, *Statira* the widow of *Alexander*, and *Drypetis* the widow of *Hephestion*. For *Roxana* having craftily got them into her power by the concurrence of *Perdiccas*, caused them both to be flung into a well and murdered. She feared *Statira* might be with child, and if that proved to be a Son, it might disturb the settlement which was made in favour of her Son, in case she bore one, and therefore thus made her away to prevent it, and her Sister with her. And (i) not long after she was delivered of a Son, who was called *Alexander*, and his name, with that of *Arideus* or *Philip*, was afterwards joined in the Government of the Empire; tho' neither of them had any more than a name in it, the Authority being wholly usurped by those, who had divided the Provinces among them.

In this Division of the Provinces, (ij) *Cappadocia*

(g) Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 13. cap. 1. Q. Curtius lib. 10. cap. 8. (b) Plutarchus in Alexandro. (i) Arrianus in excerptis Photii. Pausanias in Atticis & Bœoticis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. (ij) Plutarchus in Eumene. Q. Curtius lib. 10. cap. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin. lib. 13. c. 4. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

Anno 322.
Philip 2.

and *Paphlagonia* were assigned to *Eumenes*, who had been Secretary of State to *Alexander*; but these had not yet been thoroughly subjected to the *Macedonian* Dominion. For *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, still held those Countries, and *Alexander* having been called out of those parts in the prosecution of his other wars, before he could fully reduce him, was forced to leave him behind in the possession of his Kingdom, and he had continued in it ever since. And therefore he being first to be conquered, before *Eumenes* could be put in possession of this Government, *Perdiccas* sent to *Antigonus* and *Leonnatus* for the effecting of it. The former of them had the Government of *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and the Greater *Phrygia*; and the latter, that of the Lesser *Phrygia* and the *Hellepont*. But they having both of them other designs in their heads for the promoting of their own interest, neither of them had any regard to what *Perdiccas* ordered. *Leonnatus* was then marching into *Greece*, under pretence of carrying assistance to *Antipater*, Governor of *Macedonia*, who was then hard pressed by a confederacy of the *Greeks* against him, but in reality to seize *Macedon* and *Greece* for himself: But he being slain in battle against those *Greeks*, this did put an end to all his designs. When *Eumenes* came to him with *Perdiccas's* Order, he endeavoured to draw him into his measures, and in order hereto communicated to him his whole scheme. But *Eumenes* liking neither the Man nor his Project, refused to be concerned with him in it. Whereon *Leonnatus* would have put him to death for the concealing of the secret; which *Eumenes* being aware of, fled to *Perdiccas*, and revealed the whole matter to him. Whereon he grew very much into his confidence, and was on other accounts very acceptable unto him; for he was a very steady man, and had the best head-piece of all *Alexander's* Captains. And therefore *Perdiccas* to gratify him, taking the two Kings along with him, marched into *Cappadocia*, and
having

having vanquished *Ariarathes*, and cut him off, with all his family and kindred, settled *Eumenes* in the quiet possession of his Government ; and afterwards having subdued *Isaurus* and *Laranda*, two Cities of *Pisidia*, that had slain their Governors and revolted, he marched into *Cilicia*, and there took up his Winter Quarters. While he lay there, he projected the divorcing of *Nicea*, the daughter of *Antipater*, whom he had lately taken to wife, and the marrying of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander the Great*, in her stead. She had been wife to *Alexander* King of *Epirus* ; but he having been slain in his wars in *Italy*, she had ever since lived a widow, and was then at *Sardis* in *Lydia* ; thither *Perdiccas* sent *Eumenes* to propose the match, and court her to it : For she being in great credit and esteem with the *Macedonians*, as Sister to *Alexander* both by Father and Mother, he proposed by this marriage to strengthen his interest with them, and then in her right to seize the whole Empire. *Antigonus* getting knowledge of this project, and that the cutting of him off, to make way for the success of it, was one part of the scheme, he fled into *Greece* to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who were then making war with the *Ætolians*, and discovered to them the whole Plot ; whereupon clapping up a peace with the *Ætolians*, they immediately marched to the *Hellepont* to watch these designs, and took *Ptolemy*, Governor of *Egypt*, into confederacy with them, for the better strengthning of themselves against them. This *Craterus* was one of the eminentest of *Alexander's* Captains, and of all of them the best beloved and esteemed by the *Macedonians*. *Alexander* a little before his death had sent him to conduct home into *Macedonia* ten thousand of his Veterans, who were by age, wounds, or infirmity, disabled for farther service ; with Orders to take upon him the Government of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, in the room of *Antipater*, whom he had called to *Babylon*, as hath been before mentioned. And therefore, after the death of *Alexander*, these Provinces having been assigned to him, in joint

Authority

Authority with *Antipater*, he had accordingly taken on him the Government of them in co-partnership with him, and very amicably associated with him in all his wars, as especially he did in this, which the discovery of *Perdiccas's* designs made it necessary for them to engage in. In the interim *Perdiccas* sent *Eumenes* into his Province, not only to put all things there in as good posture as he could, but also to have a watchful eye upon *Neoptolemus*, Governor of *Armenia*, which lay next him: For *Perdiccas* had some suspicion of him, and not without cause, as it will afterwards appear.

In the beginning (k) of the next Spring, Anno 321. Philip 3. *Perdiccas* having assembled all his Forces together in *Cappadocia*, deliberated with his friends, whether he should march immediately into *Macedonia* against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, or else into *Egypt* against *Ptolemy*. Should he march first into *Macedonia*, the fear was, that *Ptolemy*, who had made himself very strong in *Egypt*, should take the advantage to seize all the Greater *Asia*. For the preventing of this, it was resolved not to leave *Ptolemy* at his back, but to reduce him first, and after that to carry the War into *Macedonia*, and that in the interim *Eumenes* should be left with part of the Army to guard the *Asian* Provinces against *Antipater* and *Craterus*. For the executing of which resolutions, *Perdiccas* gave unto *Eumenes* the Provinces of *Caria*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia*, in addition to those he had before, and made him Captain-General of all the Countries from the *Hellepont* to mount *Taurus*, ordering all the Governors of them to obey his Orders; and then by the way of *Damascus* and *Palestine* marched into *Egypt*, carrying the Kings with him in this expedition also, thereby to give the greater Countenance and Authority to his actings in it.

(k) Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Eumene. Justin. lib. 13. cap. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

Eumenes, (l) to make good his charge, lost no time in providing for himself an Army to withstand *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who had passed the *Hellespont* to make war upon him. They in the first place made use of all manner of endeavours to draw him over to their Party, promising him the Provinces which he had, with the addition of others to them; but he being a steady man, would not on any terms be wrought upon to break his faith with *Perdiccas*. But they had better success with *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus*: For they prevailed with the former, tho' the Brother of *Perdiccas*, to stand neuter, and with the other to come over to them; but while he was on his march to join their army, *Eumenes* fell upon him, and having vanquished him in battle, took from him all his baggage, and *Neoptolemus* himself difficultly escaped with three hundred Horse only to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, the rest of his Forces, that were not cut off in battle, taking service under *Eumenes*. Whereon *Antipater* marched into *Cilicia*, from thence to pass into *Egypt* to the assistance of *Ptolemy*, if his affairs should require it; and sent *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* with the rest of the Army into *Cappadocia* against *Eumenes*, where it coming to a battle between them, *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* were both slain, and *Eumenes* gained an intire victory; which was wholly owing to his wisdom and military skill in ordering the battle: For whereas the *Macedonians* generally had that love for *Craterus*, that not one of them would have drawn a sword against him, *Eumenes* ordered the matter so, that none of the *Macedonians*, that were in his Army, knew that *Craterus* was with the enemy, till that he was slain, and the victory won.

In the interim (m) *Perdiccas* entered *Egypt*, and there waged war against *Ptolemy*, but not with the

(l) Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in *Eumene*. Diodorus Sic. lib. 18. Justin. lib. 13. cap. 8. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

(m) Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in *Eumene*. Arrianus in excerptis Photii. Pausanias in *Atticis*.

same success. For *Ptolemy*, since his having entered on the Government of *Egypt*, managed all things there with that justice and benignity, that he had not only made himself strong in the affection of the *Egyptians*, but had drawn many others thither, who flocked to him out of *Greece* and other Countries, to enjoy the benefit of so just and mild a Government, which added great increase to his strength. And the Army of *Perdiccas* were so well affected to him, that they went with great unwillingness to make war against him, and many of them daily deserted to him; all which made against *Perdiccas*, and at last ended in his ruin: For having unfortunately endeavoured to pass a branch of the *Nile*, which made an Island in it over-against *Memphis*, he had a thousand of his men drowned in the attempt, and as many more devoured by the Crocodiles of that River; which angered the *Macedonians* who followed him to that degree, that rising in a mutiny against him, they slew him in his Tent, and most of his friends and confidents with him. About two days after came the news of *Eumenes's* victory. Had it been known two days sooner, it would have prevented the Mutiny, and the Revolution which afterwards followed in favour of *Ptolemy*, *Antipater*, and those of their party. The next day after the death of *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy* passed over the *Nile* into his Camp, and there so effectually pleaded his cause before the *Macedonians*, that he turned them all over to him; and when the News of *Craterus's* death came, he took the advantage of that grief and anger with which he saw them actuated for it, as to cause them by a publick Decree to declare *Eumenes* and fifty others of that Party by name, Enemies to the *Macedonian* State; and by the same Decree, *Antipater* and *Antigonus* were appointed to make war against them as such. And whereas all were inclined to have conferred on him the Guardianship of the Kings in the room of *Perdiccas*, he rather chose to keep where he was, recommending *Pitbon* and *Arideus* to his charge, and by his interest it was, that they

they were appointed to it. The former had been a noted Commander in the Army of *Alexander* through all his wars, and followed the party of *Perdiccas* till his late misfortune at the *Nile*, when in dislike of his conduct he deserted from him, and went over to *Ptolemy*. But as to the other, no mention is made of him, till on the death of *Alexander* he was appointed to take care of his funeral; for which having made great preparations, at length, after two years time spent herein, he carried the Corps in great solemnity from *Babylon* into *Egypt*, and there deposited it in the City of *Memphis*, from whence it was afterwards translated to *Alexandria*. A Prophecy having been given out, that where-ever *Alexander* should be buried that place of all others should be the most happy and prosperous; this put the chief Governors of Provinces upon a strife, which of them should have the body of this deceased Prince, each of them desiring to make the chief seat of his Government happy by it. *Perdiccas*, out of love to his Country, would have it carried to *Ægæ* in *Macedonia*, the usual burying-place of the *Macedonian* Kings, and others elsewhere. But *Ptolemy* prevailed to have it brought into *Egypt*, where *Aridæus* having carried it not long before the death of *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy* to gratify him for it procured that he was chosen into this Office. But *Eurydice*, the wife of King *Aridæus*, (now called *Philip*) putting in to have all affairs manag'd according to her direction, and the *Macedonians* favouring her in this pretence, they were so tired with the impertinency of this woman, that when they had led back the Army to *Trip paradisus* in *Syria*, they there resigned their Charge, and it was conferred wholly on *Antipater*, who thereon made a new partition of the Provinces of the Empire, wherein he excluded all that had been of the party of *Perdiccas* and *Eumenes*, and restored all of the other party that had been dispossessed. In this new Distribution, *Seleucus* had the Government of *Babylon* conferred on him, who from this beginning afterwards grew up to be the greatest

of all *Alexander's* Successors, as will hereafter be related. *Antipater* having thus settled affairs, sent *Antigonus* to make war upon *Eumenes*, and then returned into *Macedonia*, leaving his son *Cassander* with *Antigonus* in the command of General of the Horse in his Army, to be a spy upon him.

This year *Jaddua* the High-Priest of the *Jews* being dead, (n) *Onias* his son succeeded him in that Office, and lived in it one and twenty years.

Early the next Spring (o) *Antigonus* marched out of his Winter Quarters against *Eumenes*, and at *Anno 320.* *Orcynium* in *Cappadocia* it came to a Battle between them, in which *Eumenes* lost the victory, *Philip 4.* with eight thousand of his men. This was caused by the Treachery of *Apollonides*, one of the principal commanders of his Horse, who being corrupted by *Antigonus*, deserted to him in the Battle. However the Traitor escaped not the punishment which he deserved, for *Eumenes* having taken him, caused him immediately to be hanged for it. After this *Eumenes* shifted from place to place, till at length he was shut up in the Castle of *Nora*, which was situated in the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Lycaonia*, where he endured the siege of a whole year.

In the mean time (p) *Ptolemy* finding how convenient *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Judæa* lay for him, both for the defence of *Egypt*, as well as for the invading from thence the Island of *Cyprus*, which he had an eye upon, resolved to make himself master of these Provinces. They were in the first partition of the Provinces of the Empire granted to *Laomedon* the *Mytlenian*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, and had been confirmed to him also in that second partition, which was made by *Antipater* at *Trip paradisus*, and he had ac-

(n) Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum. Eusebius in Chronico. (o) Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodorus Sic. lib. 18. (p) Diodorus Siculus lib. 18. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. Appian. in Syriacis. Pausanias in Atticis.

cordingly from the death of *Alexander* to this time been possessed of them, without any interruption or disturbance. *Ptolemy*, at first, thought to have bought him out of them, and offered him vast Sums for this purpose; but not prevailing this way, he sent *Nicanor*, one of his Captains, with an Army into *Syria* against him, while he with a Fleet invaded *Phœnicia*. *Nicanor* having vanquished *Laomedon* in battle, and taken him Prisoner, thereon seized all the inland Country, and *Ptolemy* had the same success on the Maritime; so that hereby he made himself Master of all those Provinces; and *Antipater* being returned into *Macedonia*, and *Antigonus* otherwise engaged against *Eumenes*, neither of them could hinder this enlargement of his power, tho' both disliked it.

But when all other parts of this Country, after the vanquishing of *Laomedon*, readily yielded to *Ptolemy*, (q) the *Jews* alone refused to submit to this new Master, and for some time stood out against him. For having a just sense of the Oath which they had sworn to the former Governor, they were truly tenacious of the faith which they had thereby engaged to him; and therefore, till overpowered by force, would comply with nothing that was contrary to it. Whereupon *Ptolemy* marched into *Judæa*, and laid Siege to *Jerusalem*. The place being strongly fortified both by Art and Nature, might have held out long against him, but that the *Jews* had then such a superstitious Notion for the keeping of their Sabbath, that they thought it a Breach of their Law concerning it, even to defend themselves on that day; which *Ptolemy* having observed, made choice of their Sabbath to storm the place; and then took it in the assault, because none of them would, on that day, defend their Walls against him. *Josephus* being unwilling to expose his Nation to the contempt of the *Greeks* for so ridiculous a folly, tells the Story otherwise in his Antiquities, as if *Ptolemy* were admitted into *Jerusalem* upon

(q) *Josephus* Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. & contra Apionem lib. 1.

Articles of Composition, and seized the place in breach of them; but (r) other Historians, and those whom he himself quotes elsewhere, give that other account of it which I have here related, and which I think was the truth of the matter. For it appears from (s) the Book of the *Maccabees*, that till *Mattathias*, and those with him, made a Decree to the contrary, it was the stated opinion of the *Jews*, that they were to do nothing on the Sabbath-day, even for the saving of their own lives, against those that fought against them.

When *Ptolemy* (fs) had thus made himself master of *Jerusalem*, and all *Judæa*, he did at first deal very hardly with the Inhabitants. For he carried above an hundred thousand of them Captives into *Egypt*. But afterwards reflecting on the steadiness with which they adhered to the fealty they had sworn to their former Princes and Governors, he thought them the properest for the highest trust; and therefore having chosen out of them thirty thousand of the strongest and best qualified for military service, he committed to them the garrisoning and keeping of those Towns which were of the greatest importance to him to have well maintained, and appointed the rest, at their desire, to be with them in the same places, to administer all necessaries to them. And whereas he had lately brought under him *Cyrene* and *Libya*, he placed several of them there; and from them were descended the *Cyrenian Jews*, of whom was *Jason* (t) who wrote the History of the *Maccabees* in five Books (of which the second Book of *Maccabees*, which we now have, is an Abridgement) and of whom also was (u) *Simon*, that bore Christ's Cross at his Crucifixion, and others that are mentioned (w) in the Acts of the Apostles.

(r) Agatharcides apud Josephum libro primo contra Apionem. Vide etiam Aristeam. (s) 1 Maccab. ii. 41. (fs) Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. Aristeas. (t) 2 Maccab. i. (u) Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark xv, 21. Luke xxiii. 26. (w) Chap. ii. 10. and vi. 9.

Antipater, being worn out with age, (x) died in *Macedonia*, and at his death appointed *Polysperchon*, who was the oldest of *Alexander's* Captains then remaining, to be the Guardian of the Kings, and Governor of *Macedonia*, in his stead, which *Cassander* resented with great indignation. For he could not bear, that his Father should prefer any one before him in this Trust. And therefore he forthwith set himself to form a party against the new Guardian, and seized as many places as he could within the Verge of his Government, both in *Greece* and *Macedon*, and purposed no less than the dispossessing him of all the rest. And for the better carrying on of this design, he sent to *Ptolemy* and *Antigonus*, to engage them to be on his side in it; and they both encouraged him to proceed therein, but with a view only to their own interest. The aim of the former was, to secure himself in the Provinces he had gotten; and that of the other was, to possess himself of all *Asia*; and they thought, if the *Macedonians* were embarrassed by a war at home, they might both of them with the greater ease obtain their designs. For no sooner was *Antipater* dead, but *Antigonus* finding himself possessed of the greatest power of all *Alexander's* Captains then surviving, formed a Project of making himself Master of all. For he was left by *Antipater* Generalissimo of all the Lesser *Asia*, with full authority over all the Provinces in it, and had then under his Command an Army of seventy thousand Men, besides thirty Elephants, which was a force, which no other power in the Empire could then resist, and therefore he resolved to seize the whole. In order hereto, his first step was to make a reform in all the Governments of the Provinces within the verge of his Power, by putting out all such Governors as he had no confidence in, and placing others in their steads, who wholly depended on him. And accordingly he drove *Arideus* out

Anno 319.
Philip 5.

(x) Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Phocione.

of his Government of the Lesser *Pbrygia* and *Hellepont*, and *Clitus* out of that of *Lydia*, and so proceeded to do the same in all the other Provinces and Cities of the Lesser *Asia*. But his greatest difficulty was to master *Eumenes*, whose valour, wisdom, and military skill, made him more formidable to him than all the rest, tho' he had then been for a whole year shut up, and besieged by him in the Castle of *Nora*. And therefore (y) he would make trial again to draw him over to him, and sent his Countryman *Jerom* of *Cardia*, the famous Historian of those times, to make proposals to him for this purpose, with whom *Eumenes* managed the Treaty so wisely and craftily, that he got rid of the Siege at the time, when he was almost brought to the point of perishing by it, and without obliging himself to any thing that *Antigonus* intended by the composition. For an agreement being made, and the Oath whereby *Eumenes* was to swear to it, being, according to the Form sent by *Antigonus*, that he should hold all for Friends or Enemies, as they were Friends or Enemies to *Antigonus*, he altered the Form, putting it, that he should hold all for Friends or Enemies, as they were Friends or Enemies to *Olympias*, and the Kings, as well as to *Antigonus*, and then referred it to the *Macedonians*, that lay at the Siege, to judge which Form was properest; who still retaining their affection for the Royal Family, gave their judgment for the latter. And therefore *Eumenes* having sworn according to this Form, they raised the Siege and departed. But when *Antigonus* had an account how this matter was managed, he was so displeased at it, that he refused to ratify the Treaty, and immediately dispatched his Orders to have the Siege again renewed. But they came too late to be put in Execution. For *Eumenes* immediately on the raising of the Siege quitted the Fortrefs, and with the five hundred men that bore the Siege with him marched into *Cappadocia*, and there got together of his old Soldiers about two

(y) Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodorus ibid.

thousand more, and made all other preparations for the war, which he knew would be again renewed against him.

In the interim (z) the defection of *Antigonus* from the interest of the Kings, and setting up for himself, being notorious, a Commission was sent to *Eumenes*, in the name of the Kings from *Polysperchon* their Guardian, constituting him Captain-General of all the lesser *Asia*, with orders to *Teutamus* and *Antigenes*, Commanders of the *Argyraspides*, to join with him, and under his Command to make war against *Antigonus*. And those who had the keeping of the King's Treasures were commanded every where to supply him with Money for this war. And letters were sent every where from *Olympias* to the same purpose. Hereon *Eumenes* set himself with vigour to augment his forces with new recruits, and make all other preparations, which might enable him successfully to execute all the Orders he had received. But before he could get together an Army sufficient for it, *Menantander* one of *Antigonus's* Captains coming upon him into *Cappadocia* with a great Army, he was forced to march thence in haste, with only three thousand men that he had then about him. But having by long marches gotten over mount *Taurus* into the Country of *Cilicia*, he was there met by the *Argyraspides*, who according to the Orders received from the Kings joined with him, they being in number about three thousand Men. These were the remainders of the old Soldiers of *Alexander*, by whom he had won all his victories; and he having given them, (a) when they marched with him into *India*, Shields plated over with silver, as a mark of special honour to them, from hence they were called the *Argyraspides*, i. e. the *Silver-shielded*, (for so that name signified in the Greek Language.) And they were eminent above all of their time, for valour and skill in war. But the year being

(z) Diodorus, Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos, ibidem. (a) Justin. lib. 12. cap. 7. Q. Curtius lib. 8. cap. 5.

then spent, *Eumenes* could do no more at that time, than enter into winter Quarters with them in that Country.

While he lay there (b) he sent his Emissaries into all parts to raise him more Forces; who being
Anno 318. plentifully supplied with money executed their
Philip 6. Commissions so successfully, that in the ensuing Spring he took the Field with an Army of twenty thousand men Horse and Foot, which did put all his Enemies into no small fear of him. And therefore *Ptolemy*, for the crushing of him, came with a Fleet upon the Coasts of *Cilicia*, and made all manner of attempts to draw off the *Argyraspides* from him; and *Antigonus* endeavoured the same by several Emissaries sent into *Eumenes's* Camp for this purpose; but both miscarried herein. For *Eumenes* carried himself with that benignity and affability to all that were with him, and conducted all his affairs with so much prudence, that he engaged the hearts of all his Soldiers to him with so strong a Link of affection and confidence, that not a man of all his army could be induced to desert him.

And therefore having his Army thus firmly fixed to him (c) he marched with them into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to dispossess *Ptolemy* of these Provinces, which against all right he had violently seized to himself. His intention hereby was to open a secure correspondence between him and *Polysperchon* by Sea. For could he have gotten the naval Strength of the *Phœnicians* into his power, this, in conjunction with the Fleet of *Polysperchon*, would have made them absolute masters of the Seas, and they might then have sent and received succours to and from each other, according as their affairs should require; and had this design succeeded, they must have carried all before them. But the Fleet of *Polysperchon* being, through the folly of *Clitus* who commanded it, all broken and

(b) Diodorus Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in *Eumene*.
 (c) Diodor. Sic. *ibid*.

destroyed by *Antigonus*, this baffled the whole project. For *Antigonus* immediately on the gaining of this victory, put himself upon the march with a great Army to find out *Eumenes* and fall upon him; of which *Eumenes* having received intelligence, and finding himself not strong enough to encounter so great a force, as *Antigonus* was bringing against him, he durst not stay his coming, but forthwith withdrew out of *Phœnicia*, and marching through *Cœle-Syria*, passed the *Euphrates*, and wintered at *Charræ* in *Mesopotamia*. This was (d) the ancient *Charan*, or *Haran* of the Holy Scriptures, where *Abraham* dwelt before he came into the Land of *Canaan*, and where after that *Nabor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, and his posterity after him, had their habitation for several Generations. And it was, in the Histories of after-ages, rendred famous for the (e) great Battle there fought between the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, wherein the former received their signal overthrow, in which *Crassus*, and most of their Army under his command, were cut in pieces. The *Turks* now call it (f) *Harran* by the old name, and it was in late ages famous for (f) being the prime seat of the *Sabians*, a noted Sect in the East, of which I have above spoken. Hence those of this Sect were called *Harranites*, as well as *Sabians*, in those Parts.

Eumenes, while he lay at *Carrhæ*, (g) sent to *Pitbon* Governor of *Media*, and *Seleucus* Governor of *Babylon*, to join with him for the Anno 317.
Philip. 7. aiding of the Kings against *Antigonus*, and caused the Orders of the Kings for this purpose to be communicated to them. Their answer hereto was, that they should be very ready to give all aid to the Kings, but would have nothing to do with him, who had been declared a publick Enemy by the *Macedo-*

(d) Gen. xi. 31, 32. Chap. xii. 4. and Chap. xxix. 4.

(e) Plutarchus in *Crasso*. Appian. in *Parthicis*. Strabo lib. 16. p. 747.

(f) Vide *Golii* Notas ad *Alfraganum* p. 249, 250. (g) *Diodor. Sic.* lib 19.

nians. But the truth of the matter was, they feared the great Genius of *Eumenes*. For the intention of most of *Alexander's* Commanders, who after his death had divided the Governments and Provinces of his Empire among them, was to set up for themselves, and make themselves Sovereigns each in the Country which he had seized ; And it was with a view to this, that on the death of *Alexander*, they did set up an Idiot and an Infant to have the names of Sovereigns after him ; that under so weak a Government they might the better ripen their designs for the Usurpations they intended ; and all these measures they thought would be broken, if *Eumenes* got the Ascendant ; and therefore all of them, that were for these measures, were against him. But whether his purpose was to advance himself to the Sovereignty, or preserve it to the family of *Alexander*, is uncertain. His professions always were for the Family of *Alexander*, and whatever his secret Intentions might be, none of his Actions made any discovery to the contrary. But thus much is certain, that as he was the wisest and the valiantest of all *Alexander's* Captains, so was he the most steady and faithful to all his obligations, having never falsified his faith in any one particular wherein he had engaged it ; tho' he himself perished for want of it in others, as will be hereafter related.

From *Carrhæ* (b) *Eumenes* marched in the beginning of the Spring towards *Babylon* ; in which march he had like to have lost all his Army, by a Stratagem of *Seleucus* upon him. For he having encamped on a Plain near the *Euphrates*, *Seleucus* by cutting the Banks of the River overflowed the Place where he lay. But *Eumenes* having immediately drawn off his Army to an adjoining Eminence, thereby saved them from the present danger, and the next day after having found out a way again to drain off

(b) Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

the overflowings, he marched off without receiving any great inconvenience from it ; whereon *Seleucus* prayed Truce with him, and permitted him safely to pass through his Province to *Susa*, where he put his Army into Quarters of Refreshment, and from thence sent Messengers to all the Governors of the upper Provinces of *Asia* to call them to his assistance. He had before transmitted to them Letters from the Kings, which commanded them to join him for the support of the Royal Interest, and now he sent to let them know where he was, and to press upon them the speedy execution of the Royal Command. And his Messengers found them all together, they having lately joined in a war against *Pitbon* Governor of *Media*, which they had just then finished. For *Pitbon* playing the same Game in those Provinces of the upper *Asia*, that *Antigonus* did in the lower, had put *Philotas* to death to seize his Province, and intended to have proceeded in the same manner with the rest, till he should have usurped all to himself. Which being discerned, they all joined under the Command of *Peucestes* Governor of the Province of *Persia*, in a common war against him ; in which having vanquished him in battle, they drove him out of *Media*, and forced him to flee to *Babylon*, to crave of *Seleucus* the protection of his Life. And they were still encamped together after this victory, when *Eumenes's* Messengers came unto them ; whereon they immediately marched to *Susa*, and there joined him with all their Forces, which consisted of above five and twenty thousand men Horse and Foot. This Reinforcement made him more than a match for *Antigonus*, who was then on his march after him ; but the year being far advanced before he could reach the *Tigris*, he was forced to take up his Winter Quarters in *Mesopotamia*, where *Seleucus* and *Pitbon*, who were then of his Party, joining him, they there concerted together the operations of the next Campaign.

In the Interim (i) a great change happened in *Macedonia*. For *Olympias* the Mother of *Alexander*, having formerly fled out of *Macedonia* into *Epirus*, with *Alexander* her Grand-son, and *Roxana* his Mother, for fear of *Antipater*, now after his death was again returned, and having gotten the power of the Kingdom into her hands, put *Arideus* the nominal King (whom they called *Philip*) to death, with *Eurydice* his Wife, after he had born the Title of King six years and seven months. And with him she slew also *Nicanor* the Brother of *Cassander*, and an hundred more of his principal friends and adherents; which cruelty was retaliated upon her the next year after. For then *Cassander* coming upon her with an Army besieged her in *Pydna*, and having forced her to surrender, first shut her up in Prison, and afterwards caused her to be there put to death. After the cutting off of *Arideus*, *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* alone bore the title of King, till at length he was also in like manner cut off by the Treachery of those who usurped his Father's Empire. But almost all the time he bore this Title alone, he bore it in a Jail. For *Cassander* after he had taken *Pydna*, shut up him and his Mother in the Castle of *Amphipolis*, till at length he murdered them both to make way for himself to be King of *Macedon*, as will hereafter in its proper place be more fully related.

Antigonus in the beginning of the Spring (k) marched to *Babylon*, where having joined the Forces, which *Pithon* and *Seleucus* had there got ready for him, he passed the *Tigris* to find out *Eumenes*; and on the other hand, *Eumenes* was not wanting to put himself in a posture in encounter him, being now superior to him in the number of his Forces, and much more so in the wisdom and sagacity of his Conduct; not that the other was defective herein. For

Anno 316.
Alexander
Ægus 1.

(i) Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Justin. lib. 14.
Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene.

(k) Diodorus ibid.

next *Eumenes*, he was certainly the best General, and the wisest Politician of his time. But the great disadvantage which *Eumenes* lay under was, he commanded a volunteer Army, it being made up of the Forces brought him by the several Governors of Provinces who had joined him; and every one of these would have the general Command. And *Eumenes* not being a *Macedonian*, but a *Thracian* by birth, there was not one of them, but thought himself for this reason preferable before him. To master this difficulty, he pretended that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a dream; and shewed him a Royal Pavilion richly furnish'd with a Throne in it, and told him, that if they would sit in Council there, he himself would be present to prosper all their Consultations and Undertakings, upon which they should enter in his name; and having wrought the Superstition, which they had for *Alexander*, into a Belief of this, he caused such a Pavilion and Throne to be erected, as he pretended to have seen in his Dream; and placing a Crown and Scepter in the Throne, he prevailed with them there to meet in Council, and consult together in common, under the Presidency of *Alexander*, in the same manner as when he was alive, without owning any other Superior, which quell'd all farther strife about this matter. For hereby a Priority was yielded to none, and all pretences to it being still kept alive, were reserved to the opportunities, which the future events of their affairs might give to lay claim thereto. However the Army had that confidence in the great abilities of *Eumenes*, that in time of battle, and in all cases of danger, he was always called to the supreme Command, and the Soldiers would not fight till they saw him in it. And by the wisdom of his management he brought it to pass in all other cases, that tho' in outward shew he seemed to wave all superiority, yet in reality he had it, and all things were ordered according to his directions. And the Royal Command to all the Keepers of the publick Treasuries, being to
give

give out unto *Eumenes* all such sums, as he should think fitting to require, this command of the purse gave him the command of all things else. For hereby he was enabled constantly to pay his Army and also to give gratuities to the chief Leaders among them, which had no small influence to engage them to him. And in this posture stood the affairs of both Parties, when this year's war begun, which was carried on with great Vigour on both sides; And all *Media* and *Persia* became the Field of it. For they ranged these Countries all over with marches and counter-marches upon each other; and all manner of stratagems and trials of military Skill were put in practice on both sides. But *Eumenes* having a Genius much superior in all such matters, he did thereby, notwithstanding the disadvantages he lay under from a mutinous and ungovernable Army, make the Campaign end in his Favour. For he had worsted *Antigonus* in two Encounters, in which he had slain and taken a great number of his men; and when winter approached, he secured the best Quarters for himself in the Province of *Gablene*, and forced *Antigonus* to march Northward, to seek for him in the Country of *Media*, at the distance of twenty-five days march from him.

But the Licentiousness of *Eumenes*'s Soldiers being such, (1) that they would not be kept together, but for the sake of a more luxurious plenty scatter'd themselves all over the Province, and quartered at so great a distance from each other, as would require several days for them again to imbody; *Antigonus* on his having an account hereof, took a march towards him in the middle of winter, reckoning to be upon him before he should be able to get his Army together, and thereby gain an easy and absolute Victory over him. But *Eumenes*, who was never wanting in any precautions necessary for his Security, had his Spies and

Anno 315.
Alexander
Ægus 2.

(1) Diodorus Sic. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos ibid.

Scouts so well placed, and so well furnished with Dromedaries, the swiftest of beasts, to give him intelligence, that he had notice of this March of *Antigonus* some days before he could arrive, and thereby had time to defeat it by a Stratagem which saved the Army, when all the other Commanders gave it for lost. For getting up upon those Mountains, which lay towards the Enemy, with such Forces as were nearest at hand, he there caused them the next night to kindle Fires in such manner, as might represent the encampment of an Army; which being seen by *Antigonus's* Scouts at a great distance, and speedily notified to him, this made him believe that *Eumenes* was there with all his Army ready to encounter him. And therefore not thinking it proper to engage his men, as then fatigued and tired out by a long march, with a fresh Army, he stop'd so long to refresh them, that *Eumenes* had gotten all his Forces together before he could come up with him, and then he found he came too late to put his Designs in Execution. However not long after this brought on a Battle between them, wherein *Eumenes* got the Victory, which would have proved decisive in his favour, but that he lost all the fruits of it, and himself too, by the Treachery of his own men. For the Battle being fought in a sandy Field, the Feet of the Men and Horses in the engagement raised such a Dust, as involved all in a cloud, so that there was no seeing of any thing at the least distance; of which *Antigonus* taking the advantage, sent out a Party of Horse, that seized and carried off all the baggage of *Eumenes's* Army, before they could be perceived, whereby he gained the main point, tho' he lost the Victory. For *Eumenes's* Soldiers, when returned from the pursuit of the Enemy, finding their Camp taken, and all their baggage with their Wives and Children carried off, instead of using their Swords against the Enemy again to recover them, turned all their rage upon their General; and therefore having seized and bound him,

him, fold him to *Antigonus* to redeem what they had lost, and then went all over to him, which absolutely determined the War for the interest of *Antigonus*. For immediately hereon he became master of all *Asia*, from the *Hellepont* to the River of *Indus*. *Eumenes* being thus fallen into his hands, he was for some time in a doubt how to dispose of him: he having been formerly his intimate Friend, while they both served together under *Alexander*, the remembrance hereof did at first put the affection he had for him into a struggle with his interest for the saving of his Life, and *Demetrius* his Son became an earnest solicitor for him, being very desirous, out of the generosity of his temper, that so gallant a man should be kept alive. But at length reflecting on his immovable fidelity to *Alexander's* Family, how dangerous an Antagonist he had in him on this account, and how able he was to disturb all his affairs, should he again get loose from him, he durst not trust him with Life; and therefore ordered him to be put to death in prison. And thus perished the wisest and the gallantest man of the age in which he lived. He had not indeed the fortune of *Alexander*, but in every thing else far exceeded him. For he was truly valiant without rashness, and wise without timidity, readily foreseeing all advantages that offered, and boldly executing all that were feasible; so that he never failed of any thing that he undertook, but when disappointed by the Treachery of his own men. By this means he lost the battle, which he fought with *Antigonus* in *Cappadocia*, and by this means only was it, that he was at last undone in *Gabiena*. After his death, *Antigonus*, with all his Army, in the solemnest manner attended his funeral Pile, and shewed him the greatest honour that could be done him after his death, and sent his Bones and Ashes, in a sumptuous urn of silver, to his wife and children into *Cappadocia*. But this could make no amends for the taking away of his life. However it shewed, that even in
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the opinion of the worst of his enemies, he was a person of that eminent merit, as deserved a much better fate.

Antigonus (m) now looking on the whole Empire of *Asia* as his own, for the better securing of it to him made a reform through all the Eastern Provinces, putting out all such Governors as he distrusted, and placing others, of whom he had greater confidence, in their stead; and such as he thought dangerous he cut off; of this number was *Pitbon*, Governor of *Media*, and *Antigenes*, General of the *Argyraspides*; and he had marked out *Seleucus*, Governor of *Babylon* for the same destruction, but he being aware of it fled into *Egypt*, and there, under the Protection of *Ptolemy*, saved his life. And as to the *Argyraspides*, who were those that betrayed *Eumenes*, he sent them into *Arachosia*, the remotest Province of the Empire, giving it in charge to *Sibyrtius*, the Governor of it, by all ways and means to cause them there to be all consumed and destroyed, so that not a man of them might again return into *Greece*. And this he did out of a just abhorrence of the Treachery which they had been guilty of towards their General, though he himself had the fruit of it.

In the interim (n) *Seleucus* being got safe into *Egypt*, he so effectually represented to *Ptolemy* the formidable power of *Antigonus*, as he also did to *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*, by Messengers sent to them for this purpose, and made them so sensible of the danger they were in from it, that he drew them all three into a League against him. *Antigonus* being aware, that *Seleucus* on his flight might endeavour to engage those Princes into measures prejudicial to his interest, sent to each of them Ambassadors to renew his friendship with them. But finding by their answers, and the high demands which they made, that nothing but a war was to be expected from them, he hastned

(m) Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appianus in Syriacis. (n) Diodorus & Appianus ibid. Justin. lib. 15.

out of the *East* into *Cilicia*, and having there taken care for the recruiting and reinforcing of his Army, and ordered all things in the Provinces of *Lesser Asia*, as best suited with his interest, he marched thence into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*.

His (o) intentions in entering into these Provinces were to dispossess *Ptolemy* of them, and make himself master of their Naval force. For finding that a dangerous war was coming upon him from the confederated Princes, and judging aright, that without making himself master of the Seas, there was no managing of it with success against them, he found it necessary to have the *Phœnician* Ports and Shipping at his command; but he came too late for the latter of them, *Ptolemy* having carried away all the *Phœnician* Shipping into *Egypt* before his arrival; neither did he easily make himself master of the Ports: For *Tyre*, *Joppa*, and *Gaza*, held out against him. The two latter he soon reduced, but *Tyre* endured a siege of fifteen months before it could be brought to yield to him. However, having all the other Ports of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* in his power, he immediately set himself to the building of a Fleet of Ships in them, cutting down vast quantities of Timber from Mount *Libanus*, and causing them to be carried to the several Ports where the ships were a building; in which work several thousands of hands were employed; and by this means he soon equipped such a number of ships, as did, with those sent him from *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and other confederate places, make up a Fleet, which soon gave him the Mastery of the Seas. That which chiefly edged him on with so much speed to provide himself with this Fleet, was an affront offered him by *Seleucus*. For while he lay encamped near *Tyre* on the Sea-shore, *Seleucus* came thither with an hundred sail of *Ptolemy's* fleet, and *Antigonus* not having any shipping to encounter him, he passed by

(o) Diodorus Siculus lib. 19.

the Coast where he was encamped, in contempt of him, within the sight of all his Army; which very much disheartning his men, and raising a mean opinion of his power in such of his allies as were then present with him, for the remedy hereof he called them all together, and did let them know, that even that very Summer he would be on those Seas with a Fleet of five hundred sail, which no power of the enemy should be able to withstand; and accordingly he made his word good before the end of the year.

But *Antigonus* finding, that while he was intent upon these affairs in *Phœnicia*, *Cassander* grew upon him in the Lesser *Asia*, (p) he marched thither with one part of his Army, and left *Demetrius* his Son (then a young man, not exceeding the twenty-second year of his age) with the other part, to defend *Syria* and *Phœnicia* against *Ptolemy*. By this time *Tyre* was reduced to great extremities: For *Antigonus's* Fleet being now set to Sea, barred all provisions from being carried to them, which soon brought them to a necessity of surrendering. However, they obtained Terms for the Garrison of *Ptolemy* to march safely thence with all their effects, and for the Inhabitants to retain theirs without any damage. For *Andronicus*, who then commanded at the Siege for *Antigonus*, was glad on any Terms to gain so important a place, especially after being tired out with so long a siege. For it lasted (as I have already said) fifteen months. It was but nineteen years before that *Alexander* had destroyed this City, in such a manner, as it might seem to require the length of ages for it again to recover itself, yet in so short a time it grew up again into a Condition of enduring this siege for more than double the time of that of *Alexander's*. This shews the great advantage of Trade. For this City being the grand Mart, where most of the Trade both of

Anno 313.
Alexander
Ægus 4.

(p) Diodorus Siculus lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appianus in Syriacis.

the East and the West did then center, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour.

Antigonus (q) on his coming into Lesser *Asia* soon reduced the growing power of *Cassander*, and forced him to very mean Terms of accommodation; but after he had made them, he repented of the agreement, and would not stand to it, but sent to *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* for assistance, and went on with the war, which detained *Antigonus* longer in those parts than he intended, and in the interim gave *Ptolemy* the opportunity of gaining great advantages against him in the East.

For (r) having with his Fleet sailed to *Cyprus* he reduced most of that Island to him, and from thence made a Descent first upon the Upper *Syria*, and next upon *Cilicia*, where having taken great Spoils, and many Captives, he returned with them into *Egypt*. And there having, by the advice of *Seleucus*, formed a design for the recovery of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, he marched thither with a great army. On his coming to *Gaza*, he there found *Demetrius* ready to obstruct his farther progress. This brought on a fierce battle between them; in which *Ptolemy* gained the victory, having slain five thousand of *Demetrius*'s men, and taken eight thousand captive; which forced *Demetrius* to retreat, first to *Azotus*, and from thence to *Tripoly*, a City of *Phœnicia*, as far back as the confines of the Upper *Syria*, and quit all *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Cale-Syria*, to the victor. But before he left *Azotus*, having sent to desire leave to bury the dead, *Ptolemy* not only granted him this, but sent him also his Equipage, Tents, and Furniture, with all his friends, family, and servants, without any ransom; which kindness *Demetrius* had the opportunity of returning, when a while after he got the like advantage of *Ptolemy*.

(q) Diodorus ibid. Plutarchus in Demetrio. (r) Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Justin. lib. 15. c. 1. Hecataeus Abderita apud Josephum contra Apionem lib. 1.

All the other Captives he sent into *Egypt*, to be there imployed in his service on board his Fleet; and then marching forward, had all the Sea Coast of *Phœnicia* forthwith surrendred unto him, excepting only *Tyre*. For *Andronicus*, who had lately taken that City after the long Siege I have mentioned, having then the Government of it, held it out for some time. But at length the Garrison Soldiers falling into a mutiny against him, delivered the place to *Ptolemy*, and him with it.

After these successes, (s) *Seleucus* having obtained of *Ptolemy* a thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, marched Eastward with them to recover *Babylon*. With so small a force did he undertake so great an Enterprize, and yet succeeded in it. On his coming to *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, partly by persuation, and partly by force, he brought all the *Macedonians*, that were there in Garrison, to join with him. And as soon as he drew near to *Babylon*, great numbers of the Inhabitants of that Province flocked to him. For remembring his mild Government, and disliking the severity of *Antigonus*, they were glad of his return, and desirous to see him reinstated in his former Command over them; and therefore on his approach to the City, he found the Gates opened to him, and he was received into the place with the general acclamation of the people. Whereon those, who were of the party of *Antigonus*, retired into the Castle; but *Seleucus* having now the possession of the City, and all the people on his side, soon made himself master of this Fortrefs, and with it again received his children, friends and servants, whom, on his flight into *Egypt*, *Antigonus* had there shut up in prison, and then applied himself to get together such an Army, as might enable him to keep what he had gotten. For he had not long been in possession of this City, ere *Nicanor* (who was Governor of *Media* for *Antigonus*) put himself upon the March with

(s) Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Appianus in Syriacis.

an Army to drive him thence. *Seleucus*, on his having received intelligence of it, passed the *Tigris* to meet him, and having gotten him at a disadvantage, stormed his Camp in the night, and put his whole Army to the rout; whereon *Nicanor*, with some few of his friends, fled through the Desarts to *Antigonus*; and all his forces that survived the rout, part through dislike of *Antigonus*, and part through fear of the Conqueror, joined with him. Whereby having gotten a great Army under him, he seized *Media*, *Susiana*, and other neighbouring provinces and places, and thereby firmly fixed his interest and his power in those parts; which he daily improved by the Clemency of his Government, and the Justice, Equity and Humanity which he practised towards all that were under it; and by these means, from so low a beginning, as I have mentioned, he grew up at length to be the greatest of all *Alexander's* Successors.

From this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus* (t) began the famous *Æra* of the *Seleucidae*, made use of all over the East, by Heathens, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans. It is called by the *Jews* (u) the *Æra* of Contracts, because, after they fell under the Government of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings, they were forced to use it in all their Contracts, and other Instruments of Civil affairs; and it afterwards grew so much in use among them, that till a thousand years after Christ they had no other way whereby to compute their time, but this *Æra* of Contracts only. For it was not till then, that they began to reckon by the years from the Creation of the World. As long as they continued in the East, they continued in the Eastern usage of computing by the *Æra* of Contracts, (as they called it;) but when about the year of our Lord 1040 they were driven out of the

(t) Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, Calvisium aliosque Chronologos de hac *Æra*. (u) Vide Vorstii Zemach David p. 61. & Dissertationem R. Azariæ apud eundem in observationibus ad Zemach David p. 247, 248, &c.

East, and forced to remove into these Western parts, and here settled in *Spain, France, England, and Germany*, they learned from some of the Christian Chronologers of these Countries to compute by the years from the Creation. The first year of this *Æra*, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the *Julian Period* 953, and takes its beginning from the Autumnal Equinox of that year. But the true year of the Creation of the World, according to *Scaliger's* Computation, was 189 years, and according to others 249 years higher up than where this *Æra* of the *Jews* placeth it. However, the *Æra* of Contracts is not at this time out of use among those People: For they continue still to reckon by it, as well as by the other. The *Arabs* call it *Taric Dilcarnain*, i. e. *The Æra of the Two-horned*. The reason of this name some deduce from *Alexander*, (w) who is in the *Alcoran* and other Arabic Books frequently called *The two-horned*. And he is often found with two Horns on his Coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being thought the Son of *Jupiter Hammon*. For that God of the Heathens being usually represented with two Rams Horns on his Head, *Alexander* might cause himself to be so represented too, the better to make the fiction pass, that he was his Son. But this *Æra* hath no relation to *Alexander*, altho' it hath been by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name *The Æra of Alexander*. For *Alexander* was dead twelve years before it began, and its commencement only was from the recovery of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the Origin of this Arabic name *Taric Dilcarnain* from *Seleucus*; and (x) *Appian* gives us in him a sufficient reason for it. For he tells us, that *Seleucus* being a person of that great strength, that laying hold of a Bull by the Horn he

(w) Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum p. 57, 58. & Alfraganum ipsum cap. 1. § De Æris, p. 6. (x) In Syriacis editionis Tollianæ Amstelodami p. 201.

could stop him in his full career, the Statuaries for this reason usually made his Statues with two Bulls Horns on his Head. And therefore it is most likely that he, and not *Alexander*, was first meant by *the two-Horned* in the Arabic name of this *Æra*: For it was from him, and not from *Alexander*, that it had its Origin. It is in the Books of the *Maccabees* (y) called, *The Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But whereas the first Book of the *Maccabees* begins the years of this *Æra* from the Spring, the second begins them from the Autumn following, and so did the *Syrians*, *Arabs*, and *Jews*, and all others that anciently did, or now do use this *Æra*, excepting the *Chaldaeans*. For they not reckoning *Seleucus* to be thoroughly settled in the possession of *Babylon*, till the Spring in which *Demetrius* made that retreat from thence, which we shall speak of in the next year following, they began not this *Æra* till from that spring, and for the same reason reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that season also. So that whereas all other Nations, that computed by this *Æra*, began it from the Autumn of the year before Christ 312, it had not its commencement among the *Chaldaeans*, till from the Spring of the year next after following.

In the interim, (z) *Ptolemy* having again made himself Master of all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, sent *Cilles*, one of his Generals, to take possession of the Upper *Syria* also, and drive *Demetrius* thence, who was then retreated thither. But *Cilles*, out of contempt of the baffled enemy he had to deal with, making his encampments negligently and loosely, *Demetrius*, on his having an account hereof from his Spies, by a long and speedy march came upon him, before he was aware, and surprizing him in the night, got an absolute victory over him, taking his Camp, and making him and seven thousand of his men Pri-

(y) 1 Maccab. i. 10.
metrio.

(z) Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarchus in De-

soners of war ; which equalling the defeat he had before received at *Gaza*, again balanced the matter between him and *Ptolemy* ; and also put it in the power of *Demetrius* (for the sake of which he most valued this victory) to make a return to *Ptolemy* of the Kindness he had before received from him. For after this victory, he sent back unto him *Cilles*, and all his friends, without ransom, in the same manner as *Ptolemy* had before sent back to him all his friends after the victory which he had gotten over him at *Gaza*.

Antigonus (a) receiving an account at *Celenæ* in *Phrygia* (where he then resided) of this victory of his Son's over *Cilles*, hastened thence into *Syria*, to prosecute there the advantages of it ; and having passed Mount *Taurus*, joined his Son in the Upper *Syria* ; whereon *Ptolemy* finding himself not strong enough to encounter the joint forces of the Father and Son together, dismantled *Ace*, *Joppa*, *Samaria*, and *Gaza*, and retreated again into *Egypt*, carrying with him most of the riches, and a great number of the Inhabitants of the Country. Whereon all *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Cœle-Syria*, returned again under the power of *Antigonus*.

The (b) Inhabitants of those Countries, whom *Ptolemy* carried with him into *Egypt* on his retreat, followed him thither rather voluntarily, and out of free choice, than by compulsion. For he being a person of a very benign temper, and having always shewn great Clemency and Humanity to all under his Government, this so far captivated the hearts of those people to him, that they rather chose to follow him into a strange Country, than tarry the coming of *Antigonus* in their own, (from whom they expected a contrary treatment) and that especially since they had Terms of great advantage offered them by *Ptolemy*, to invite them to this removal.

(a) Diodorus & Plutarchus *ibid.* (b) Josephus *Antiq. lib. 12.*
c. 1. & contra Apionem lib. 1. & lib. 2.

For his mind being then much set upon the making of *Alexandria* to be the Capital of *Egypt*, was glad of all that he could get to come thither to inhabit the place, and offered great privileges and immunities to draw them thither. And here *Ptolemy* planted all those that followed in this retreat, among whom were a great number of the *Jews*. (c) *Alexander* had planted several of that Nation there before ; and *Ptolemy*, after his first irruption into *Judaea*, had brought from thence many more of them thither ; where they enjoyed the benefit of a plentiful Country, a secure protection, and many other advantages. The report whereof coming into *Judaea*, excited in many others there a desire to follow them, and accordingly many did so on this occasion. For *Alexander* had, on his first building this City, given them, for their encouragement to plant there, the same privileges and immunities with the *Macedonians*, and *Ptolemy* had continued the same to them. By which means the *Jewish* Quarters in that City increased to the number of several thousand of families ; and (d) many *Samaritans*, as well as *Jews*, upon the like encouragement, became Inhabitants of this place, and there multiplied to a great number.

Among those that followed *Ptolemy* into *Egypt* on this occasion, one was (e) *Hezekias*, a person of eminent note among that people, and one of their chief Priests. *Hecataeus* the Historian being then with *Ptolemy*, makes particular mention of him, as a person of great wisdom and prudence, a powerful speaker, and one that thoroughly understood the world, being then about sixty years old. And farther, he saith, That he having contracted an acquaintance with him, they had frequent conferences together ; and that in them he learnt from him what was the Religion, Policy, and manner of living of the *Jews*, wherein they differed from other Nations ; all which, he

(c) Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2. (d) Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. (e) Josephus contra Apionem lib. 1.

saith, this *Hezekias* had with him written in a Book ; which Book, no doubt, was the Book of the Law of *Moses*. And I doubt not it was by this person, that he was induced to have so favourable an opinion of the *Jews*, and their Religion ; and that it was from him, that he received the information of most of that which he wrote of them. For (f) he composed a particular History of the *Jews*, therein treating of them from *Abraham* down to his time ; in which he speaks so honourably of them, and their Religion, that (g) *Origen* tells us, *Herennius Philo*, (h) an Heathen writer, who flourished about the time of *Trajan* the Roman Emperor, did for this reason raise a doubt, Whether it were the genuine work of *Hecataeus*, or no ; making this inference from hence concerning it, That either it was composed by some *Jew* under the name of *Hecataeus*, or else, if he were the true Author of it, he was corrupted to the *Jewish* Religion when he wrote it. If one of these two must be the truth (tho' I see no necessity for it) the latter is as possible as the other. This (i) *Hecataeus* was of *Abdera*, a Grecian City in *Thrace*, which had been famous for the birth of *Democritus*, *Protagoras*, and other learned Men. He was bred up with *Alexander*, and followed him in all his wars, and after his death put himself under the protection of *Ptolemy*, and lived with him in *Egypt* ; where having from the Conversation, which he had with this learned *Jew*, and others of that Nation, who followed *Ptolemy* thither, fully informed himself of their Laws, Customs, and Religion, he wrote that History of them, which I have mentioned. Out of which *Josephus* hath extracted several passages in his Writings, especially in his first Book against *Apion*. But the Book itself is not now extant. There was another

(f) Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Josephus Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. & contra Apionem lib. 1. (g) Contra Celsum lib. 1. (h) Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis lib. 2. cap. 10. (i) Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis lib. 1. cap. 10.

very noted Historian of the same name, but he was a *Milesian*, and lived long before, in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*.

Josephus (k) tells us of another Jew called *Mosollam*, who about this time followed *Ptolemy*, and had lifted himself an Horseman in his Army, and out of the same *Hecataeus* gives us a very remarkable story of him; the words of *Hecataeus* are as followeth. "As
 " I was travelling towards the Red-sea, there was in
 " company with us a certain Jew called *Mosollam*, one
 " of a Jewish Troop of Horse, that was sent to be
 " our Convoy, a very valiant man, and remarkable
 " for his great skill in Archery, in which he excelled
 " even all the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* of his time. As
 " several of us were travelling on in this journey to-
 " gether, a certain Soothsayer, who took upon him
 " to foretel the fortune of our Journey, bad us all
 " stand still, and we did so. Whereon this Jew asked
 " us what we stood for? Look ye, answered the Cun-
 " ning-man, and shewed him a Bird. If that Bird
 " stands, said he, ye are to stand, and if he riseth and
 " flies on, you are to go forward too, but if the Bird
 " takes its flight the contrary way, you must all go
 " back again. The Jew hereat without a word speak-
 " ing lets fly an arrow and kills the Bird; whereon the
 " Diviner and some of the Company had great indig-
 " nation, and fell on him in most outrageous Terms.
 " Why certainly, said the Jew to them, are ye not all
 " mad to make such a bustle about a foolish Bird?
 " How could that poor wretched Creature pretend to
 " foreshew us our fortune, that knew nothing of its
 " own? If this Bird could have foretold good or evil
 " to come, it would have kept out of this place for fear
 " of being slain by the arrow of *Mosollam* the Jew." Thus far *Hecataeus*, who it is plain tells this story, of purpose to expose and condemn the Superstition of the Heathens, which then obtained concerning such

(k) Contra Apionem lib. 1.

matters, and to commend and extol the wisdom of the Jews, in rejecting and despising all those Follies.

Antigonus having thus recovered all *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, out of the hands of *Ptolemy*,
 (l) sent *Athenæus*, one of his Lieutenants, with an Army against the *Nabathæan Arabs*,
 They being a Clan of Thieves, had made inroads upon the Countries now under his Command, and carried off much plunder from them, and to be revenged of them for it, *Antigonus* sent these Forces against them. The chief City of those *Arabs*, was *Petra*, which standing on a High Rock in the Deserts, was from thence called by the *Greeks Petra*, by the *Hebrews* (m) *Sela*, and by the *Arabs Hagar*. For (n) *Hagar* signifieth the same in *Arabic*, that *Sela* doth in *Hebrew*, and *Petra* in *Greek*, that is a Rock. And hence it is, that *St. Paul* (o) calls Mount *Sinai Hagar*. For that was all a rocky Mountain, which beginning at the Red-Sea, runs a great way into *Arabia*, and on part of it the City of *Petra* was built. There (p) being a certain Mart at stated Seasons held in the Neighbourhood, the *Nabathæans* having left their Wives, Children, and Aged, with their Goods under a Guard at *Petra*, were gone to this Mart. *Athenæus* craftily laying hold of this opportunity, by long marches got to *Petra* in their absence, and having surpris'd the place, slew the Guards, and carried off all the Plunder that he found in the place, and then marched back with as much speed as he came; and when he had gotten at such a distance, that he thought himself out of the reach of the Enemy, he stopped to refresh his men with rest, now tired out with so long a march; but not taking sufficient care to secure his Encampment, the Enemy having gotten early notice of what he had done, made a speedy pursuit after him, and falling upon him in the Night,

Anno 311.
 Alexander
 Ægus 6.

(l) Diodorus Sic. lib. 19. (m) *Isaiah* xvi. 1. 2 *Kings* xiv. 7.
 (n) Vide *Bocharti Geographiam Sacram* Part 1. lib. 4. cap. 27. (o) In the *Epistle to the Galatians*, chap. iv. ver. 25. (p) Diodorus *ibid.*
 while

while his men were all drowned in sleep and weariness, they cut off all of them, excepting only fifty Horsemen that escaped, and recovered the whole booty. After this returning to *Patra*, they from thence wrote Letters to *Antigonus* in the *Syriac* Language, accusing *Athenaus* of the wrong he had done them. To which *Antigonus*, temporising with the present necessity, returned such an answer, as disowned the enterprise of *Athenaus*, and allowed the revenge as just which they had taken of him. But as soon as he had gotten more Forces ready, (q) he sent his Son *Demetrius* with them to execute that vengeance upon those robbers, which the other failed of. Who having received his Orders, marched with all the haste he could, hoping to be upon them before they should know of his coming. But his march being discovered, notice was given of it by Fires all over the Country, which immediately brought them all together to *Petra*, where they having left a strong Garrison, and divided the booty between them, which had been there laid up, fled with it into the Desarts, driving all their Flocks and Herds with them. So that *Demetrius* on his coming thither, finding the place too well provided to be taken, made peace with those people upon the best Terms he could, and returned; and after a march of three hundred furlongs, (which is about thirty-six of our Miles) he came to the Lake *Asphaltites*, and there encamped. This was also called by some the Sea of Sodom, by others the Dead Sea, and in Scripture (r) the Salt Sea. It was called the Sea of Sodom, because there Sodom once stood; the Dead Sea, because it is a stagnated water without any motion, and in which no living Creature is said to be found; the Salt Sea, because of its exceeding Saltness; and *Asphaltites* from the Greek word *Asphaltus*, which signifieth *Bitumen*; (s) which it produceth

(q) Plutarchus in *Demetrio*. Diodorus *ibid*. (r) Gen. xiv. 3. Numb. xxxiv. 9. 12. Deut. iii. 17. Joshua iii. 16. (s) Plin. lib. 5. c. 16.

in great Quantities, and the best that can any where be found. And this last is the name by which the *Greeks* and *Latins* called it. At present the adjacent Inhabitants (*fs*) call it the Lake of *Lot*. It (*t*) extends from North to South about seventy of our miles in length, and is about eighteen miles over in the broadest place. On the East side of it, anciently lay the Land of *Moab*, and on the West side, that part of the Land of *Canaan* which was the portion of the Tribe of *Judab*, and towards the South, it abutted upon the Land of *Edom*. The Rivers *Jordan* and *Arnon* run into it at the North end, and are there lost. For nothing runs out of it again; but like the *Caspian* Sea, it receives Brooks and Rivers into it, and emits none out; wherein it is of a contrary nature to the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, (called (*u*) *the Sea of Galilee*, and (*w*) *the Lake of Genezaret*, in the Gospels) on which our Saviour was so conversant. For that as it receiveth the River *Jordan* at one end, so emits it again at the other. But when it falls from thence into the Lake *Asphaltites*, it is there absorbed and no more heard of. *Demetrius* on his encamping on this Lake, (*x*) observing the nature of it, and that a good Revenue might be made of the *Bitumen* which it yielded, gave *Antigonus* an account of it on his return. *Antigonus*, tho' no way pleased with the Peace which he had made with the *Nabathæans*, whom he sent him to destroy; yet applauded him for the discovery he had made, of a way for the augmenting of his Revenue by the *Bitumen* of this Lake; and immediately sent thither *Jerom the Cardian* to take care of it. But when he had, according to his Instructions, gotten ready several boats fit for the purpose, and was gathering in to them all the *Bitumen* of the Lake to carry it all

(*fs*) Baudrandi Geographia sub voce *Asphaltites*. (*t*) See Maundrel's Journey to Jerusalem, p. 83, 84. Thevenot's Travels Part 1. Book 2. Chap. 41. (*u*) Matth. iv. 18. chap. xv. 29. Mark i. 16. John vi. 1. (*w*) Luke v. 1. (*x*) Diodorus Sic. lib. 19.

to one place, there to be disposed of for the benefit of *Antigonus*, the *Arabs* to the number of six thousand men fell upon him, and having destroyed his boats, and slain most of his men employed in them for this work, drove him thence, and thereby put an end to this Project. This (y) *Jerom* being a Fellow-Citizen of *Eumenes*, followed his party to the time of his death; but being then taken Prisoner by *Antigonus*, he after that entered into his Service, and was appointed by him to this employment. Many years after this he was (z) Governor of *Syria*, for *Antiochus Soter* the Son of *Seleucus*. For he lived to a great age, (a) being an hundred and four years old at the time of his death; and his eminent skill in all affairs both of the Camp and Cabinet, recommended him to the favour and first respects of the Princes, under whom he served. He wrote the History of *Alexander*, and his Successors, and their Posterity, down to the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and beyond it; but tho' he had lived long in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, first under *Antigonus*, and afterwards under *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus* his Son, and therefore was well acquainted with the State and Affairs of the *Jews*, and had many occasions in his History to make mention of them, yet he passeth them over in a total Silence, not speaking as much as one word of them. For which he is (b) faulted by *Josephus*, as if this his neglect of them proceeded from his malice and envy towards those people.

Antigonus receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the Successes of *Seleucus* in the East, (c) sent *Demetrius* his Son with an Army to *Babylon* to drive him thence, and recover that Province out of his hands. In the interim, he himself marched towards the

(y) Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis lib. 1. c. 11. (z) *Josephus* contra Apionem, lib. 1. Where observe, the Translators here put *Antigonus* instead of *Antiochus*, by a wrong variation from the Greek Text. (a) *Lucianus* de Longævis. (b) *Libro primo contra Apionem*. (c) *Diodorus* lib. 10. *Plutarchus* in *Demetrio*.

maritime parts of Lesser *Asia* to suppress the power of the three confederated Princes, which was there growing against him, and appointed a time for his Son to come thither to him, after he should have executed the Commission, on which he sent him to *Babylon*. *Demetrius*, according to his Father's order, having gathered his Forces together at *Damascus*, marched thence to *Babylon*; and *Seleucus* being then absent in *Media*, he entered that City without opposition. For *Patrocles*, whom *Seleucus* had left his Lieutenant in that Place, finding himself not strong enough to encounter *Demetrius*, had retreated with those Forces he had with him into the Fens; where being surrounded with Rivers, Ditches, and Morasses, he there protected himself by the inaccessibleness of the place, and ordered all the rest to flee out of the City; whereof some passing the *Tigris*, and others retreating into the Desarts, and others in other places of Safety, thereby saved themselves till the Enemy was again retreated. *Demetrius* finding the City deserted, laid siege to the Castles. For there were two of them in that City well garrison'd, and of large extent. These were the two Palaces which I have above described; of which one stood on the one side of the *Euphrates*, and the other on the other side, just over-against it. One of these he took, and having expelled the Garrison of *Seleucus*, placed one of his own in it of seven thousand men. The other held out to the time limited to him by his Father for his return. And therefore leaving *Archelaus* one of his principal Commanders, with a thousand Horse and five thousand Foot to continue the Siege, he marched back with the rest of his Army into Lesser *Asia*, to the assistance of his Father, having first plundered the whole Province of *Babylon* of all he could lay his hands on in it; by which he absolutely alienated the hearts of all the people from *Antigonus*, and firmly united them to *Seleucus* and his interest ever after. For even those, who had till then been for *Antigonus*, concluding, that his Forces would

never have used them so, had there been any intentions for their returning to them again, took this act of depredation to be a Declaration of their Resolutions to desert them for the future; and therefore they made their peace with *Seleucus*, and all went without any farther reserve intirely over to his Interest. So that on his returning to *Babylon* after the Retreat of *Demetrius*, he soon expelled the Forces he had there left, recovered the Castle which he had garrison'd, and thenceforth settled his interest in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could be never after any more shaken. And therefore from this year the *Babylonians* began the *Epocha* of his Kingdom, tho' all the other Nations of *Asia* placed its commencement in the year before, as I have already observed.

Demetrius (d) on his return into Lesser *Asia*, having raised the Siege of *Halicarnassus*, which was besieged by *Ptolemy*, this brought on a Treaty of Peace between the confederated Princes, and *Antigonus*; in which it was agreed, that *Cassander* should have the command of all in *Macedonia*, till *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* should be grown up; that *Lyfimachus* should have *Thrace*; *Ptolemy* *Egypt*, and the adjacent Parts of *Libya* and *Arabia*; and *Antigonus* all *Asia*; and that all the *Grecian* Cities should enjoy their Liberties. But this agreement did not last long. For many infractions of it being pretended on both sides as soon almost as it was made, this brought them all again into the War. But the true reason was the great power of *Antigonus*, and the daily growing of it was a continual terror to the other three, and therefore they could not sit quiet till they had suppressed it.

Alexander the Son of *Roxana* being grown up to the fourteenth year of his Age, (e) *Cassander* thought it not consistent with his Ambitious designs to let him live any longer. For he being resolved to seize the King-

Anno 310.
Alexander
Ægus 7.

(d) Diodorus & Plutarchus ibid.
in Bæoticis,

(e) Diodor. lib. 19. Pausanias

dom of *Macedon* for himself, it was necessary for him first to make away with the true Heir; and therefore sent to the Castle of *Amphipolis*, where he had for several years shut up him and his Mother, and caused them both to be there privately murdered. However *Ptolemy* in his Canon continues to reckon the years of his reign in the same manner, as if he were alive, till at length those who had divided the Empire of *Alexander* among them, after having long usurped the Regal Authority, took also the Regal Style, and declared themselves Kings, each in the particular Countries which they had taken possession of.

Polyperchon, who govern'd in *Peloponnesus*, hearing of the death of *Roxana* and her Son, (f) laid hold of this occasion to make loud exclamations against *Cassander* for the fact, accusing him every where for the villany of it, that he might thereby excite the odium of the *Macedonians* against him. All this he pretended to do out of his zeal and affection for the House of *Alexander*; and to make the greater shew hereof, he sent for *Hercules* the other Son of *Alexander*, which he had by *Barsina* the Widow of *Memnon*, and having gotten him and his Mother to him from *Pergamus*, where hitherto he had been brought up, he proposed to the *Macedonians* the instating of him in his Father's Kingdom; which very much terrifying *Cassander*, soon brought him to an agreement with him on his own Terms, and when he had gained those Terms, having obtained all that he proposed, for the better securing of himself in the possession of them, he was easily induced by *Cassander* to cut off this Son of *Alexander* also. And therefore the next year following, he caused him and his Mother to be put to death in the same villanous manner, as *Cassander* had the other Son and his Mother before. And thus each acted his part in destroying the Heirs, that after their death they might

(f) Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Pausanias in Boeoticis.

with the better safety share the Inheritance between them.

Ptolemy (g) having renewed the war against *Antigonus* for the reason I have mentioned, took by his Lieutenants several Cities from him in *Cilicia* and elsewhere. But *Demetrius* soon dispossessed him again of all in *Cilicia*; and other of *Antigonus's* Lieutenants had the same success against him in other places. Only in *Cyprus*, *Ptolemy* having, by cutting off of *Nicocles* King of *Paphos*, extinguished all the interest that *Antigonus* had in that Island, thereby secured it wholly to himself.

This year (b) *Epicurus* being thirty two years old, first began to poison the World with his impious Philosophy. He first taught it at *Mitylene* in the Isle of *Lesbus*, and afterwards at *Lampsacus* on the *Hellepont*, and after that at *Athens*, of which City he originally was. He returned thither in the thirty seventh year of his age, and there kept his School in a Garden till the sixty third of his age, in which he died. According to him all things were first made, and have ever since subsisted, by Chance. For he denied, that the world was created by the Power of God, or is at all governed by his Providence. He held also that there is no future State, but that this World is every man's all, and that the highest felicity attainable here is the highest good that man is capable of, and this he placed in indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind; but held that virtue and morality were the only true means of attaining thereto. And therefore, tho' our modern Infidels build their impious Doctrines upon *Epicurus's* Philosophy, yet they cannot their immoral and wicked lives. For if virtue alone be the only true way, whereby to attain that indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, in which, according to this scheme, the highest felicity

(g) Diodorus *ibid.* (b) Laertius in *vita Epicuri.* See Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, Part. 13.

of man doth consist, it must certainly be every man's highest wisdom to practise it. Out of this impious school have sprung the *Sadducees* of the *Jews*, the *Zendicbees* of the *Arabs*, and the *Deists* of the present age. The first of those, it is to be acknowledged, went no farther, than to the denial of Angels, Spirits, and a future State. For they acknowledged the world to be created by the Power of God, and to be governed by his Providence; and therefore they received the Law of *Moses*; but with the expectation of none other, than of temporal Blessings for the reward of keeping it; but the other two go through-stitch with the whole of this impious Scheme, excepting only that Part of it which recommends a virtuous Life.

Ptolemy, to make himself amends for his Losses in *Cilicia*, (i) invaded *Pamphylia* and *Lycia*, and other maritime parts of *Asia*, and divested *Antigonus* of *Phaselis*, *Caunus*, *Mindus*, and several other Cities, which he before held on those Coasts.

Anno 309.
Alexander
Ægus 8.

And then (ij) sailing into the *Ægean* Sea, now called the *Archipelago*, he took in the Island of *Andrus*, and from thence passing to the Continent, there possessed himself of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and several other places. While he was in those parts, he entertained a correspondence with *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*. She was the same, that was married to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, at the time when her Father *Philip* was slain, and had ever since the death of her Husband (who fell in his wars in *Italy*) lived a widow, and for several years past had her residence at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; but being there ill used by *Antigonus*, under whose power that City was, *Ptolemy* took that opportunity to draw her over to his party, and invited her to him, hoping to make her presence with him turn to his advantage in

Anno 308.
Alexander
Ægus 9.

(i) Diodor. lib. 20.

(ij) Diodor. Sic. ibid.

his war with *Antigonus*. But when she had put herself upon the journey to go to him, *Antigonus's* Lieutenant, who governed for him at *Sardis*, stopped her on the road; and having brought her back thither again, caused her a little after, by the order of *Antigonus*, privately to be put to death. Whereon *Antigonus* coming himself to *Sardis*, condemned to death those women of her retinue, by whose hands the murder was committed, and then celebrated the funeral of the dead Lady in a very solemn and sumptuous manner, thinking thereby to avoid the odium and infamy of the fact; whereas such hypocritical devices do most an end prove those facts, which they are contrived to disown, and rather increase, than prevent the detestation that is due to the Authors of them. But this was not the only vile fact he committed. *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* built their interest upon the Clemency and Justice of their Government, whereby they established to themselves lasting Empires, which continued in their families for many generations after. But *Antigonus* being a man of a quite contrary disposition, acted all by violence, sticking at nothing that he thought would promote his interest, how wicked and vile soever; and therefore according to his rule of proceeding, every thing, and every person, was to be removed, that stood in the way of his designs, without any regard had either to justice or humanity; and thus he proceeded to support himself by force only, till at length that failing, he lost both his Empire and his Life with it; and may such be the fate of all others that follow the same Courses.

Opbellas, Prince of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, (*k*) being slain by *Agathocles* King of *Sicily*, *Ptolemy* again recovered these Provinces. *Opbellas* was a soldier of *Alexander's*, and after his death followed the fortune of *Ptolemy*,

Anno 307.
Alexander
Ægus 10.

(*k*) Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 22. cap. 7.

and went with him into *Egypt*. From thence he was sent by him to reduce *Libya* and *Cyrene* to his obedience, these being Provinces assigned to *Ptolemy*, as well as *Egypt* and *Arabia*, on the Division of the Empire ; in which Expedition having succeeded, and being thereon made Governor for *Ptolemy* of these Countries, he seized them for himself ; and *Ptolemy's* other engagements, against *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, not giving him leisure to look that way, he continued undisturbed in the possession of them till this year. But *Agathocles* being now in *Africa* making war against the *Carthaginians*, and finding he wanted more strength to carry it on, invited *Opbellas* into an alliance with him, promising him no less than the Empire of all *Africa* for the reward of the undertaking. This bait was readily swallowed by *Opbellas* ; and therefore having gotten together an Army of twenty thousand men, after a long march he joined *Agathocles* with them, in the Territories of the *Carthaginians*. But the wicked Tyrant, when strengthened by so great a reinforcement, having gained all that he intended, treacherously cut off *Opbellas*, and used his Army only for his own interest. How this succeeded with him, I shall not here relate. All that is to my purpose is, to shew how *Ptolemy* after this again recovered the Provinces of *Libya* and *Cyrene*. For *Opbellas* being thus slain, and this ill-projected Expedition having drained those Countries of all their forces, they forthwith fell again under the power of *Ptolemy*, without opposition, and he and his successors continued to hold them as Provinces of the Kingdom of *Egypt* for several ages after. And under the protection of those Princes, the Colony of the *Jews*, which had been there planted by this first *Ptolemy* (as hath been abovementioned) increased, and grew to a great number. For (1) in the time of *Vespasian*, no fewer than three thousand of them were

(1) *Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 7. c. 31.*

put to death in that Country for one mutiny ; and yet within a few years after, (m) under the reign of *Trajan*, they mastered the whole Province, and slew of the other Inhabitants of it above two hundred thousand persons ; which could not have been done, had not they been a great number that effected it. This *Opbelas* (n) had for his wife *Eurydice* a fair *Athenian* Lady, of the descendants of *Miltiades*. On the death of her Husband she returned to *Athens*, where *Demetrius* meeting her the next year after, fell in love with her, and took her to wife.

For *Demetrius* (o) came thither in the beginning of that year, to restore, as he pretended, the Liberties of that and the other Cities of *Greece* ; but in reality to expel thence the Garrison of *Cassander*, and depress his power in those parts ; which having fully effected, by driving *Demetrius Phalereus* out of that City, he returned again to his Father.

This *Demetrius Phalereus* (p) had governed *Athens* under *Cassander* ten years. And never were the *Athenians* under a (q) more just government, or enjoyed greater peace and happiness, than while he presided over them ; and in acknowledgment hereof, they erected for him (r) as many Statues in that City, as there were days in the year, and than this a greater honour was never done to any Citizen of that place ; and of all this, and much more, was he well deserving. For he was not only a learned Philosopher, but also a person of great wisdom, justice, and probity, and these virtues he exercised in a very eminent degree through all the acts of his Government. On his now being dispossessed of it, he retired to

(m) Xiphilin. in *Traiano*. (n) *Plutarchus* in *Demetrio*.
 (o) *Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus* in *Demetrio*. (p) *Laertius* in
vita Demetrii Phalerei. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. (q) *Cicero de Le-*
gibus lib. 2. & in Oratione pro Rabirio. Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. 3. c. 17.
 (r) *Laertius* *ibid.* *Plinius lib. 34. c. 5. Strabo lib. 9. Cornelius Nepos*
in Miltiade. Plutarchus in libro de Reipublicæ gerendæ Præceptis.

Cassander, and after his death went into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy*, and is said there (s) to have had the chief management of *Ptolemy's* Library, and to have procured for it that Translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, which we now call the *Septuagint*; of which we shall treat hereafter in its proper place, where we shall have occasion to speak more of him.

Demetrius, on his return from *Athens*, (fs) was sent by his Father, with a great Fleet and Army, to dispossess *Ptolemy* of the Island of *Cyprus*; and therefore sailing thither, he made a descent upon it at *Carpasia*; and having taken that City and *Urania*, he marched to *Salamine*, the Capital of the whole Island. *Menelaus* the Brother of *Ptolemy*, who was then chief Commander for him in *Cyprus*, being at that time with most of his forces in *Salamine*, went forth on his approach to that place, and gave him battle; but being overborn by the number and valour of the enemy, he was forced to retreat into the City, with the loss of a thousand of his men slain, and three thousand taken prisoners, and there prepare for the bearing of a siege. From whence *Ptolemy* having an account sent him of his misfortune, got ready a great fleet with all the expedition he was able, and sailed thither for his succour. This brought on a great fight at Sea between the contending Princes; in which *Demetrius* having obtained the Victory, *Ptolemy* was forced to take his flight back into *Egypt* with eight Ships only, leaving all behind him in the power of the Conqueror; whereon the whole Island of *Cyprus*, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, that *Ptolemy* had therein, fell into his hands. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the Fleet. *Menelaus* the brother, and *Leontiscus* the son of *Ptolemy*, being among the Captives, *Demetrius* sent them both home, with their friends and depen-

(s) *Aristeas*. *Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2.* (fs) *Plutarchus in Demetrio. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15. cap. 2.*

dents, without ransom, in remembrance of the like kindness shewn him by *Ptolemy* after the battle of *Gaza*. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces; so that hereby he very much increased his military strength, both by Sea and Land, as well as enlarged his Father's Dominions, by adding this large and rich Island to them.

Antigonus, on the news of this victory, being very much elated by it, thenceforth (t) assumed the Title of King, and wore a Crown; and sent another Crown to *Demetrius*, and give the Title of King to him also; and from this time they both used it in all their Epistles, Orders, Decrees, and other writings; which the *Egyptians* hearing of, that *Ptolemy*, to whom they bore great affection, might not seem lessened by his misfortunes, they gave him also the same Title. This example being followed by *Lyfimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, they also about the same time assumed the Title of Kings, each in their respective Territories; in which they had all along before usurped the Regal Authority.

By this time *Seleucus* (u) was grown very great in the East. For having slain *Nicanor* in Battle, who was sent against him by *Antigonus*, he not only secured to himself hereby *Media*, *Assyria* and *Babylon*; but carrying his Army farther, reduced under him *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, and all the other Provinces on this side the *Indus*, which *Alexander* had before made himself master of.

Antigonus, to (w) pursue the blow which *Demetrius* had given *Ptolemy* in *Cyprus*, drew together into *Syria* an Army of near an hundred thousand men for the invading of *Egypt*, hoping there to get as easy a victory over him, as he had at *Cyprus*, and so dis-

(t) Plutarchus in *Demetrio*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 2. 1 Maccab. i. 9. (u) Appian. in *Syriacis*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19, & 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 4. (w) Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

possess him of that Country also. While he marched thither with his bulky Army, *Demetrius* his son coasted him with as great a Fleet at Sea, till they came both to *Gaza*, where having concerted matters between them, *Demetrius* failed to make a descent upon the Country at one of the Mouths of the *Nile*, while *Antigonus* invaded it by Land. It was not without great difficulties that *Antigonus* passed the Desarts, that lay between *Palestine* and *Egypt*; and when he was arrived in *Egypt*, he found much greater. And *Demetrius* met with no less at Sea. For Storms had much shattered his fleet, and *Ptolemy* had so well guarded all the Mouths of the *Nile*, that he could find no access to put on shore at any of them; neither could *Antigonus* make any better progress with his Army at Land. For *Ptolemy* had so carefully provided against him in all places, and so strongly guarded all passes and avenues, that he could make no impression upon him any where, and (what afflicted him most) great numbers of his men daily deserted from him to the enemy. For *Ptolemy* having sent boats to several places on the River, where *Antigonus's* Soldiers came for watering, caused it to be there proclaimed from those boats, within their hearing, that whoever should come over to him from *Antigonus's* Army, if he were a common Soldier he should have (x) two Mina's, and if a Commander (y) a Talent; whereon great numbers of them, as well Commanders as private Soldiers, especially of the Mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the sake of the reward, but especially out of the greater liking they had to *Ptolemy*. For *Antigonus* being a crabbed (z) old man, and very haughty, morose, and severe, *Ptolemy*, by reason of the benignity of his temper, and his humane and courteous carriage to all

(x) i. e. About six pound five shillings of our money. (y) i. e. About one hundred eighty eight pound of our money. (z) He was now about eighty years old.

he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. *Antigonus* therefore, after he had in vain hovered over the out-skirts of *Egypt* till all his provisions were spent, finding he could gain no advantage on *Ptolemy*, but that his army daily diminished by sickness and desertions, and he could no longer subsist the remainder in that country, was forced to return back into *Syria*, with baffle and disgrace, having lost great numbers of his men at land, and many also of his ships at sea, in this unsuccessful Expedition. Hereon *Ptolemy* wrote to *Lyfimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, of his success, and having renewed his League with them against this their common Enemy, he became thenceforth firmly settled in his Kingdom, and was never after any more disturbed in it. And therefore *Ptolemy* the Astronomer here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckoneth the years of it in his Chronological Canon. Therein, till now, he continued to compute by the years of *Alexander Ægus*, though he had been slain five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and the firm settlement which he obtained hereby in the Throne, gave him a new *Epocha* after that to go by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of *November*, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander*.

The (a) *Rhodians* subsisting chiefly by their Trade with *Egypt*, for this reason adhered to the Interest of *Ptolemy*; and when sent to by *Antigonus* for the assistance of some of their shipping in the *Cyprian* war, they refused to aid him with any for that undertaking. *Antigonus* therefore, as soon as the *Egyptian* expedition was over, sent *Demetrius*, with a Fleet and Army to reduce that Island to his obedience. But after a year's time spent in the siege of *Rhodes*, the chief City in it, not being able to take the place,

Anno 304.
Ptolemy So-
ter 1.

(a) Diodor. Sic. lib: 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

he was content to make a Peace with them upon Terms, that they should associate with *Antigonus* in all his wars, except only against *Ptolemy*. For it being chiefly by the assistance of *Ptolemy* that they were enabled to sustain so long a siege, and were at length so happily delivered from it, they would make no peace which should oblige them to act any thing against him ; and when the enemy was gone, in acknowledgment of the aid which he had given them in this dangerous war, having, for the greater solemnity, first consulted the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* about it, they consecrated unto him a Grove ; and for his greater honour made it a very sumptuous work. For it being a furlong square, they surrounded it with a most stately *Portico* on every side, and from his name called it *The Ptoleméum* ; and there, according to the impious flattery of those Times, they paid Divine Honours unto him ; and in commemoration of their being thus saved by him in this war, (*b*) they gave him the additional name of *Soter*, that is the Saviour ; by which he is commonly called by Historians, to distinguish him from the other *Ptolemies* that after reigned in that Country.

Seleucus having secured himself in the possession of all the Countries from the *Euphrates* to the River *Indus* (*c*) made war upon *Sandrocottus*, for the making of himself Master of *India* also. This *Sandrocottus* (*d*) was an *Indian* by birth, and of a very mean Original ; but giving out that he would deliver his Country from the Tyranny of Foreigners, under this pretence got together an Army, and by degrees having increased it to a great number, took the advantage, while *Alexander's* Successors were engaged in war

Anno 303.
Ptolemy Soter 2.

(*b*) Pausanias in Atticis. (*c*) Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 4. Appianus in Syriacis. (*d*) Justin. Diodor. Appian. ibid. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Strabo lib. 16. Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri lib. 5.

against each other, to expel the *Macedonians* out of all those *Indian* Provinces which *Alexander* had conquered, and seized them to himself. To recover these Provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had by this time brought all *India* under his power, and from the several Parts of it drawn into the Field an Army of six hundred thousand men, and had in it a vast number of Elephants managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging so great a power, and therefore coming to a Treaty with him, he agreed, that on his receiving from *Sandrocottus* five hundred of his Elephants, he should on that consideration quit to him all his pretensions in *India*; and on these Terms peace was made between them. And *Seleucus* having thus settled this matter, marched back into the western Parts to make war against *Antigonus*; the necessity whereof was one main cause that hastened this Peace with *Sandrocottus*.

For (e) *Demetrius*, after he had ended his war with the *Rhodians*, sailed a second time with a great Fleet and Army into *Greece*, under the same pretence of freeing the *Grecian* Cities, but in reality to weaken and suppress the power of *Ptolemy* and *Cassander* in those parts, and there dispossessed *Ptolemy* of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and most of the other places which he held in *Greece*, and pressed so hard upon *Cassander*, that he was forced to sue to him for a Peace. But when he found that none could be had, but upon the Terms of resigning himself absolutely to the will and pleasure of *Antigonus*, he and *Lyfimaebus* having had Consultation hereupon, agreed both of them to send Ambassadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, with a representation of the case; by which it being made appear, that the Designs of *Antigonus* were to suppress all the other Successors of *Alexander*, and usurp the whole

Anno 302.
Ptolemy So-
ter 3.

(e) Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Justin. lib. 15. cap. 4.

Empire to himself, it was thought time for them all to unite together against him, for the bringing down of his over-growing power. And therefore *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*, having confederated together for this purpose, this hastned *Seleucus* out of *India* back again into *Assyria*, there to provide for the war. The first operations of it began on the *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* and *Lyfimachus* having concerted matters together on that side, it was agreed between them, that while the former remained in *Europe* to make a stand against *Demetrius* in those parts, the other, with as many forces as could be spared from both their Territories, should make an Invasion upon the Provinces of *Antigonus* in *Asia*. And accordingly *Lyfimachus* passed the *Hellepont* with a great Army; and partly by force, and partly by desertions and revolts, reduced *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*, and most of the Countries from the *Propontis* to the River *Meander* under his power. *Antigonus* was at *Antigonia*, a new City built by him in the Upper *Syria*, and was there celebrating solemn Games, which he had appointed in that place, when the news of this Invasion was first brought to him. On his hearing hereof, and the many revolts which had been made from him, he immediately broke up his Sports, and dismissing the assembly, forthwith set himself to prepare for a march against the Enemy; and as soon as he had gotten all the Forces together which he had in those Parts, he hastned with them over Mount *Taurus* into *Cilicia*, and having, at *Quinda* in that Province, taken out of the publick Treasury (which was there kept) what money he thought necessary, he therewith recruited and augmented his Forces to a number sufficient for his purpose, and then marched directly against the Enemy, retaking in his way many of those places which had revolted from him. *Lyfimachus* not finding himself strong enough to encounter *Antigonus*, stood upon the defensive only, till *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* should come up to his assistance;

tance ; and in this manner wore out the year's war, till both sides were forced to go into Winter Quarters.

In the beginning of the next year (f) *Seleucus* having gotten together a great Army at *Babylon*, marched thence into *Cappadocia*, for the pursuing of the war against *Antigonus*. Of which *Antigonus* having notice, sent for *Demetrius* out of *Greece* to his assistance ; who immediately obeying his Father's Orders, transported himself to *Ephesus*, and recovered again that City to *Antigonus*, and many other adjacent places, which on the coming of *Lyfimachus* into *Asia* had revolted from him.

Ptolemy, on *Antigonus's* leaving *Syria*, took the advantage of his absence to invade that Country, and soon recovered again all *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Cœle-Syria*, excepting only *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which being well garrisoned held out against him for *Antigonus*. For the reduction of them he first laid Siege to *Sidon* ; but as he was carrying of it on, being informed that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*, and was marching against him for the relief of the place, he suffered himself to be imposed on by this false report, and therefore forthwith making a Truce with the *Sidonians* for five months, raised the Siege, and returned into *Egypt*.

In the mean time the forces of the confederated Princes being got together, under the command of *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus* on the one hand, and *Demetrius* having joined *Antigonus* on the other, the Controversy between them was soon brought to a decisive issue in a fierce Battle, wherein they engaged with their whole forces against each other, near a City in *Pbrygia* called *Ipsus* ; in which *Antigonus* being slain, and his Army broken and defeated, the Confederates gained an absolute victory. *Antigonus*

(f) Diodor. & Plutarchus ibid. Appian. in Syriacis.

was passed eighty years old, some say passed eighty four, when he thus fell. *Demetrius* finding the battle lost, and his Father slain, made his escape to *Epbefus*, with five thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, which were all the remains which he could pick up of near ninety thousand men, with which he and his Father entered the Field of Battle. With these he went on board his Fleet, which he had there left on his coming out of *Greece*. And shifting from place to place, sometimes met with good fortune and sometimes with bad; and altho' he still retained some Territories in *Greece*, and elsewhere, and afterwards for some years reigned in *Macedonia*, yet he could never recover his Father's Empire; but for the seventeen years, which he afterwards lived, met with disappointments in all attempts which he made towards it; till at length falling into the hands of *Seleucus*, he died in the Prison which he confined him to. Among the Territories which he retained for some time after this Battle, were *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and the Island of *Cyprus*.

After the death of *Antigonus* (ff) the four confederated Princes divided his Dominions between them, and hereby the whole Empire of *Alexander* became parted, and settled into four Kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; *Cassander*, *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus*, *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and some other of the Provinces beyond the *Hellefpont* and the *Bosphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. And these four were the (g) four Horns of the He-Goat mentioned in the Prophecies of the Prophet *Daniel*, which grew up after the breaking off of the first Horn. That first Horn (b) was *Alexander*, King of *Græcia*, who overthrew the Kingdom of the *Medes* and *Persians*; and the (i) other

(ff) Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in *Demetrio*. Appian. in *Syriacis*. Polybius lib. 5. (g) *Daniel* viii. (b) *Daniel* viii. 21. xi. 3. (i) *Dan.* viii. 22. xi. 4.

four Horns were these four Kings, who sprung up after him, and divided his Empire between them. And these also were the four Heads of the Leopard, (*k*) spoken of in another place of the same Prophecies. And their four Kingdoms were the four Parts, into which, according to the same Prophet, the Kingdom of the mighty King (*i. e.* of *Alexander*) should be broken, and divided towards (*i. e.* according to the number of) the four winds of Heaven, among those four Kings, who should not be of his posterity, as neither of the four above-mentioned were. And therefore, by this last partition of the Empire of *Alexander*, were all these Prophecies exactly fulfilled. There were indeed former partitions of it into Provinces among Governors, under the Brother and Son of *Alexander*. But this last only was a partition of it into Kingdoms among Kings; and therefore of this only can these Prophecies be understood. For it's plain, they speak of the four Successors of *Alexander* as (*l*) of four Kings; where they are represented by four Horns, they are (*m*) expressly called so; and where they are represented by (*n*) four Heads, the very Symbol speaks them so. For who are Heads of Kingdoms, but the Kings that reign over them? The Leopard in that Prophecy was the Empire of the *Macedonians*, and the four Heads were the four Kings, that after *Alexander* divided it into four Kingdoms, and as Kings reigned over them. But none of *Alexander's* Successors were Kings, till about three years before this last division of his Empire was made. At first indeed there were five Kings of these Successors. But *Antigonus* not being King above three years, and his Kingdom being absolutely extinguished in his death, for this reason these Prophecies take no notice of him, but confine the Succession of the great Horn to these four only, who conquered him.

(*k*) Daniel vii. 6. (*l*) Dan. viii. 21, 22. xi. 4.
 (*m*) Dan. viii. 21. (*n*) Dan. vii. 6.

And it is farther to be observed, that tho' *Antigonus* and the other four called themselves Kings three years before the battle of *Ipsus*, which produced this last partition, yet it was till then only a precarious Title, which each assumed by his own Authority only. But after this Battle there being a League made between the four Survivors, who conquered in it, whereby each of them had their Dominions set out to them into so many Kingdoms, and each of them were authorised by the consent of all to govern them as Kings independent of all Superiors, from this time only can their respective Divisions be truly and properly reckoned as Kingdoms, and they as Kings to preside over them. And in all their contests, which they or their Successors afterwards had about the limits of their several Kingdoms, they always appealed to this League, as the original Charter, by which they held their Kingdoms, and that Regal Authority by which they reigned over them. And therefore from the making of this League only, can they properly and in the truest sense be called Kings; and they were four only, that is *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*, that were so by virtue of it. And to these four do the Prophecies refer.

Onias, the first of that name, High-Priest of the *Jews*, being dead, he was (o) succeeded in the High-Priesthood by *Simon* his Son, who from the Holiness of his Life, and the great Righteousness which shone forth in all his actions, was called *Simon the Just*. He was the first of that name that was High-Priest, and lived in that Office nine years.

Anno 300.
Ptolemy So-
ter 5.

Seleucus, after his victory over *Antigonus*, having seized the Upper *Syria*, (p) there built *Antioch* on

(o) Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. Chronicon Alexandrinum. Eusebii Chron. Syncellus ex Africano. (p) Johannes Antiochenus Malela. Strabo lib. 16. p. 749, 750. &c. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 15. cap. 4. Diodor. lib. 20. Julianus in Misopogone.

the River *Orontes*, which afterwards for many ages became the Queen of the East. For here the *Syrian* Kings had the Seat of their Empire: And here the *Roman* Governors who presided over the affairs of the East had their residence: And when Christianity prevailed, it became the See of the chief Patriarch of the *Asian* Churches. It was situated on the River *Orontes*, at the distance of about twenty miles from the place, where it falls into the Mediterranean Sea. It is (q) reckoned to be in the mid way by Land, between *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and to be about seven hundred miles distant from each. He called it *Antioch*, say some, from the name of his Father, others from the name of his Son and others from that of both. For *Antiochus* was the name of his Father, as well as of the Son, that succeeded him in his Kingdom. He built sixteen other Cities, which he called by the same name, whereof one was in *Pisidia*, of which (r) mention is made in the Scripture. But *Antioch* on the *Orontes* was the most remarkable of them. *Antigonus* had not long before (s) built a City in the Neighbourhood, which from his name he called *Antigonia*, and intended to have made it the chief Seat of his Empire. This *Seleucus* rased to the ground, and having employed the materials to build this new City, transplanted all the Inhabitants thither. These Cities having both stood on the *Orontes*, and very near each other, the benefit of the River, and the smallness of the distance, made the transportation the more easy. He (t) built also several other Cities in that Country, whereof there were three of especial note; one of them he called *Seleucia* from his own name, another *Apamia*, from *Apama* his Wife, the Daughter of *Artabazus* the *Persian*, and the third *Laodicea* from *Laodice* his Mother. *Apamia* and *Seleucia* stood upon the same River with

(q) Baudrandi Geographia de Antiochia magna. (r) Acts iii. 14.
 (s) Strabo, & Diodorus Siculus ibidem. (t) Strabo ibid.

Antioch, the former above it, and the other fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that River falls into the Sea. And upon the same Coast towards the South, lay *Laodicea*. For the sake of these four Cities, the Country in which they stood, had the name of *Tetrapolis*, i. e. *the Country of the four Cities*, not but that there were several other Cities in it. But these being of more eminent note, and making four distinct Governments on which all the rest were dependents, from hence they gave occasion for the name to that Country, and indeed it was no more than an occasional name given it for this reason. The true name of it was *Seleucis*: This *Seleucus* gave it from his own name, and it extended Southward as far as *Cæle-Syria*. For *Syria* was divided into three parts, *Syria* properly so called, *Cæle-Syria*, or the Hollow *Syria*, and *Syria Palestina*. The first of these, which I call the Upper *Syria*, contained *Commagena*, *Cyrrhestica*, *Seleucis*, and some other small Districts, and extended from the Mountain *Amanus* on the North, to the Mountain *Libanus* on the South, and was afterwards called *Syria Antiochena*. The second reached from *Libanus* to *Anti-Libanus*, including *Damascus* and its Territories, which consisting mostly of deep Valleys between high Mountains, it was for this reason called *Cæle-Syria*, i. e. the Hollow *Syria*. From *Anti-Libanus*, to the Borders of *Egypt*, was *Syria Palestina*, and the Maritime Parts of the two latter, from *Aradus* to *Gaza*, was that which the *Greeks* called *Phœnicia*. But not only *Seleucis*, but *Antioch* itself, was also called *Tetrapolis*, but from another reason, that is because it consisted of four Quarters as of so many Cities; the first of them only was built by *Seleucus*; the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the Capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* Empire; the third by *Seleucus Callinicus*; and the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Each of these Quarters had its proper Wall, whereby it was separated from the rest, and

were also inclosed by one common Wall encompassing the whole. The place where it stood was very liable to Earthquakes, and it often suffered exceedingly by them. However it continued for near sixteen hundred years to be the chief City of the East, till at length, (u) *Anno Domini* 1265, it was taken from the Western Christians by *Bibars* Sultan of *Egypt*, and utterly destroyed by him. Since that *Aleppo* hath succeeded in its stead, to be the Metropolis of those Eastern Parts. (w) All the Walls are still remaining, that is the Walls of each Quarter, as well as those which surround the whole; but all being desolated within, excepting some few Houses, which make only a small and contemptible Village, those four Quarters of the City look only as so many Fields within their inclosures. It is now called *Antbakia*, but is remarkable for nothing else but its ruins. The (x) Patriarchal See, which once adorned it, hath since its Desolation been translated to *Damascus*. But he that hath at present the Title of Patriarch of *Antioch* in that place, scarce reacheth the figure formerly born by the meanest Deacon of that Church, to so low a Condition is the State of Christianity now sunk in those Parts.

Daphne (y) was reckoned a Suburb of this City, tho' at the distance of about four or five of our Miles from it. There *Seleucus* planted a Grove, which was ten Miles in compass, and in the middle of it built a Temple, and consecrated both to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an *Asylum*. This was the same to *Antioch*, that *Baiæ* was to *Rome*, and *Canopus* to *Alexandria*, that is, the place where the Inhabitants resorted for their Pleasures, for which it was excellently fitted. For (z) it had most delicious Fountains and Rivulets of the best water, most

(u) Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum p. 281. (w) Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum p. 280. (x) Golius ibid. (y) Strabo lib. 16. p. 750. (z) Procopius Perficorum lib. 2.

pleasant walks of *Cypress* Trees in the Grove, and the purest Air, and every thing else that Nature could afford for Pleasure and Delight; which being farther improved by all the Arts of Luxury, whatsoever could any way administer to a voluptuous Enjoyment (a) was there to be had in the utmost excess; and the *Antiochians*, as their corrupt Inclinations led them, there resorted for it. So that tho' the place had been consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, it was by the *Antiochians* in reality wholly devoted to *Bacchus* and *Venus*, which made it so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, i. e. *to live after the manners of Daphne*, grew into a Proverb to express the most luxurious and dissolute way of living; and all that had any regard to their Reputation for Virtue and Modesty avoided to go thither. And *Cassius* the Roman General on his coming to *Antioch*, by publick Proclamation prohibited all his Soldiers from going to that place, under the penalty of being cashier'd, that they might not be corrupted by the Luxury and Debaucheries of it. It was so noted a Place, that to distinguish this *Antioch*, near which it lay, from the many other Cities, that were of the same name elsewhere, as it was sometimes called *Antioch* on the *Orontes*, so was it as often called *Antioch* (b) ἐνὶ Δαφνῇ, i. e. *Antioch near Daphne*.

Lyfimachus, to strengthen himself in his Kingdom, (c) made a strict alliance with *Ptolemy*, and for the firmer cementing of it, took to Wife *Arfinoe*, one of his Daughters, and some time after married another of them to *Agathocles* his Son. *Seleucus* following this Example, contracted the like Alliance with *Demetrius*, and married his Daughter *Stratonice*, which he had by *Phila* the Sister of *Cassander*. She being a very beautiful Lady, *Seleucus* on the fame of it de-

Anno 299.
Ptolemy So-
ter 6.

(a) Chrysostomi Sermo in Babylam Martyrem. (b) Strabo l. b. 15. p. 719. (c) Plutarchus in Demetrio.

fired her in marriage, and *Demetrius*, being then in a low condition, was glad of so potent an ally, and therefore readily laid hold of the proposal, and forthwith sailing from *Greece*, where he had still some Towns, carried her with the whole Fleet that he had then remaining into *Syria*. In his way thither he made a descent upon *Cilicia*, which was then held by *Plistarchus* Brother of *Cassander*, by the gift of the four Kings after the death of *Antigonus*. Hereon *Plistarchus* went to *Seleucus* to complain of the wrong, and to expostulate with him for making an alliance with the common Enemy, without consent of the other Kings, which he apprehended to be contrary to the League that was made between them. *Demetrius* having intelligence hereof, marched immediately to *Quinda*, where the publick Treasury of the Country was kept, and having seized all the money he found in it, which amounted to twelve hundred Talents, hastned back to his Fleet with the prey, and putting it all on board, sailed to *Orassus*, a maritime Town in *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his Bride; and after some days there spent in nuptial Feasts, and mutual Treats and Entertainments, he sailed back again into *Cilicia*, and made himself master of the whole Province, and then sent *Phila* his Wife to *Cassander* her Brother to excuse the matter.

By this means the power of *Demetrius* began again to grow in those Parts. For he had there on this acquisition all the Province of *Cilicia*, the whole Island of *Cyprus*, and the two strong and wealthy Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*; which making *Seleucus* jealous of his Neighbourhood, (d) he would have bought him out of *Cilicia* for a large Sum of Money, which he offered him for the purchase. But *Demetrius* not accepting the bargain, he would have

Anno 298.
Ptolemy So-
ter 7.

(d) Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

picked a quarrel with him about *Tyre* and *Sidon*, demanding them of him in great anger, as Cities belonging to *Syria*, of which he was King. To which *Demetrius* returned as angry an answer, telling him, that tho' he should be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never buy a Son-in-law at such a rate, and immediately hereon failed to both those Cities, and having strengthened the Garrisons he had in them with more Forces, and furnished them with all things necessary for their defence, he defeated for the present the design which *Seleucus* then had of taking them from him. So that *Seleucus* got nothing hereby but an ill name. For he was generally blamed and reflected on for his unsatiable greediness, in that having so large an extent of Dominion, as reached from the River *Indus* to the Mediterranean Sea, he would not let his Father-in-law quietly enjoy these poor remains of his broken Fortunes.

About this time (*e*) flourished *Megasthenes*, who wrote an History of *India*. For he was a Confident of *Seleucus's*; and having been employed by him in his Transactions (*f*) with *Sandrocottus* King of *India*, and resided with him some time in that Country, and gone over a great part of it, he then gathered up those materials, out of which he afterwards composed his Book. Some fragments of it are preserved by (*g*) *Josephus* and (*h*) *Eusebius*, wherein he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the greatness of his power. And he is often quoted by (*i*) *Strabo* and other ancient Writers, as *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*. But the Book itself is not now extant. *Annius* a lying Monk of *Vi-*

(*e*) Vide Vossium De Historicis Græcis Lib. 1. cap. 11.
 (*f*) Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri lib. 5. & de Rebus Indicis.
 (*g*) Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1. (*h*) Præp. Evang. ex Abydeno lib. 9. (*i*) Lib. 15. p. 687. where he quotes out of Megasthenes the same passage concerning Nebuchadnezzar (whom he calls Navocodrosor) that Josephus doth.

terbo in *Italy*, who was born *Anno* 1437, and flourished towards the end of that Century, counterfeited several Books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Berosus*, and *Magasthenes*, whom he called *Metasthenes* out of a mistake, which he was led into by *Rufinus's* *Latin* Version of *Josephus*, and this first gave occasion for the discovery of the Cheat. Those Books he published with a Comment upon them, and for some time they went for the genuine works of the Authors, whose name they bore, but are now exploded every where as Fictions, framed of purpose to impose a cheat upon the world. And of the same stamp are *Inghiramius's* *Etruscan* Antiquities, and *Jeffrey of Monmouth's* *British* History. For all these are no other than the Fictions of the first Editors. They framed them to perpetuate their names by the publication, and they have truly done so. For they are still remembered for it; but no otherwise, than under the stile of infamous Impostors.

Cassander (l) having governed *Macedon* from the death of his Father nineteen years, died of a Dropsy, leaving behind him, by *Thessalonice* his wife, one of the sisters of *Alexander the Great*, three sons, *Philip*, *Antipater* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, who succeeded him in the Kingdom dying soon after, left the Crown to be contested for between his two Brothers that survived.

Pyrrhus, the famous King of *Epirus*, (m) being in *Egypt*, there married *Antigone* out of *Ptolemy's* family. He, having been kept out of his Kingdom by *Neoptolemus* an Usurper, followed *Demetrius* in his wars while very young, and fought valiantly in his cause in the Battle of *Ipsus*, and after that continued with him till the marriage of *Seleucus* with *Stratonice*. Then, by the interposition of *Seleucus*, peace and reconcilia-

(l) *Dexippus* & *Porphyrius* in *Chronico* *Eusebii* p. 57, 59, & 63.
(m) *Plutarchus* in *Pyrrho*. *Pausanias* in *Atticis*.

tion having been made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolemy*, *Pyrrhus* was delivered to *Ptolemy* as an Hostage on the part of *Demetrius* for the performance of the Articles, and carried by him into *Egypt*; where having, by his generous and noble deportment, gained much upon the favour of that Prince, he gave him in marriage *Antigone*, the daughter of *Berenice* his best beloved wife. *Ptolemy* had another wife called *Eurydice*, who was the daughter of *Antipater*, and sister to *Cassander*. When *Antipater* sent this Lady into *Egypt* to be married to *Ptolemy*, he sent with her for a companion *Berenice*, she being then the widow of one *Philip* a *Macedonian*, newly deceased, by whom she had this *Antigone*. On her arrival in *Egypt* she soon grew so much into the liking of *Ptolemy*, that he married her also, and loved her much more than any other wife he had. And therefore on *Pyrrhus's* having married her daughter, she prevailed with *Ptolemy* to assist him with a Fleet and Money; by means whereof he recovered his Kingdom, and from this beginning grew up to be the most eminent person of the age in which he lived.

Demetrius from *Tyre* made an inroad upon the *Samaritans*, and wasted *Samaria*; to saith (n) *Eusebius*; and it's certain, that at this time *Demetrius* was in possession of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, but it is more likely that this was done by *Demetrius's* Lieutenants in those parts, than by *Demetrius* himself in person. For according to all other Histories, *Demetrius's* wars in *Greece* detained him there all this year and also the next.

For (o) the *Athenians* having revolted from *Demetrius*, after the reduction of the *Messenians* (which had been the work of the former year) he employed a whole year in the Siege of *Athens*, and at length, by famine, forced them to a surrender.

Anno 296.
Ptolemy
Soter 9.

Anno 295.
Ptolemy
Soter 10.

(n) In Chronico.

(o) Plutarchus in Demetrio.

After *Demetrius* had settled his affairs at *Athens* (o) he formed a design for the subduing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and having overthrown them in two battles, would certainly have succeeded in the enterprize, but that when he was going to make an assault upon the City of *Lacedæmon*, and must in all likelihood have taken it, a message came to him, that *Lyfimachus* having with a great Army invaded his Territories in *Asia*, had taken from him all the Cities which he had in those parts ; and immediately after that another, that *Ptolemy* had made a Descent upon *Cyprus*, and taken from him all that Island, except only the City of *Salamine*, into which his mother, his wife and children were retired, and that he pressed that place with an hard siege. All these grievous Tidings coming one upon the back of the other drew back *Demetrius* from *Lacedæmon* to look after his other affairs, when he was just ready to have taken that City. And not long after he had an account, that *Salamine* was also lost. But *Ptolemy* was so generous, that on his mastering the place he sent him his mother, and his wife and children without ransom, with all the persons, equipage, and effects, that belonged to them, adding also several magnificent presents, and all manner of Honour at their dismissal. And when *Ptolemy* had thus made himself Master of *Cyprus*, then most likely was it that *Tyre* and *Sidon* fell into his hands also ; it not being possible, that after the loss of *Cyprus*, *Demetrius* could any longer keep them.

At the same time it seems most likely *Demetrius* also lost *Cilicia* to *Seleucus*. For from this time we find the latter only in the possession of this Province, and all the Cities in it. And no time seems more proper for *Seleucus* to have seized it, than when this Declension of *Demetrius's* Fortunes in those Eastern parts had put it out of his power any longer to defend it against him.

(o) Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

The contest (p) going on between *Antipater* and *Alexander*, the sons of *Cassander*, about the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and *Thessalonice*, the Mother of both, favouring the younger son, this so exasperated *Antipater* the eldest of them against her, that in an impious rage he fell upon her, and slew her with his own hands, notwithstanding she earnestly supplicated to him, by the breasts with which she had nourished him, to spare her Life. This accident gave a favourable turn to the fortunes of *Demetrius*. For *Alexander* the other Brother, to be revenged on *Antipater* for this horrid fact, called in *Demetrius* to his assistance; which opened him a way to the Throne of *Macedon*. For the wicked Parricide of *Antipater*, in murdering his Mother, having created a general detestation of him, by that time *Demetrius* had with his Army reached the borders of *Macedon*, he was deserted of all men, and forced to fly into *Thracia*, where he soon after perished in Banishment. *Alexander* being thus rid of his Brother, desired to be rid of *Demetrius* also; in order where-to he laid a design to cut him off; which *Demetrius* having notice of, was before-hand with him, and first cut off *Alexander*, by slaying him at an entertainment, in the same manner as *Alexander* had laid the plot to have slain him, and thereon got the Kingdom of *Macedon* in his stead, where he reigned seven years, till another cross turn of fortune threw him again out of that Kingdom, and a while after he was cast out of every thing else that he had been possessed of.

By the death of *Thessalonice* and her two sons, the whole Royal Family of *Philip* King of *Macedon* was utterly extirpated, as that of *Alexander* had been before in the death of *Alexander Ægus* and *Hercules* his sons. And so these two Kings, who by their oppressive and destructive wars had made many Trage-

(p) Plutarchus in *Demetrio* & *Pyrrho*. Justin. lib. 16. c. 1. *Pausanias* in *Bœoticis*.

dies in other Princes Families, had them all at length, by the just ordination of Providence, brought home to their own, both *Philip* and *Alexander*, their wives, and all that were descended of them, dying violent deaths.

About this time (q) *Seleucus* built *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, at the distance of forty miles from *Babylon*. It was placed on the Western side of that River, over-against the place where now *Bagdad* stands on the Eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great City. For *Pliny* (r) tells us it had in it six hundred thousand Inhabitants, and there are not much above an hundred thousand more in *London*, which is now (waving the fabulous account which is given of *Nankin* in *Gbina*) beyond all dispute the biggest City in the world. For by reason of the breaking down of the Banks of the *Euphrates*, the Country near *Babylon* being drowned, and the Branch of that River, which passed through the middle of the City, being shallowed and rendred unnavigable, this made the situation of *Babylon* by this time so very inconvenient, that when this new City was built, it soon drained the other of all its Inhabitants. For it being situated much more commodiously, and by the Founder made the Metropolis of all the Provinces of his Empire beyond the *Euphrates*, and the place of his residence, whenever he came into those Parts, in the same manner as *Antioch* was for the other Provinces which were on this side that River; for the sake of these advantages the *Babylonians* in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to *Seleucia*. And besides, *Seleucus* having called this City by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after-ages, gave it many Privileges above the other Cities of the East, the better to make it an-

(q) Strabo lib. 16. p. 738. & 743. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 26.
(r) Ibidem.

swer this purpose ; and these were a farther invitation to the *Babylonians* to transplant themselves to it. And by these means, in a short time after the building of *Seleucia*, *Babylon* became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore (s) *Pliny* tells us, *That it was exhausted of its Inhabitants, and brought to desolation, by the Neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator built there on purpose for this end.* And (t) *Strabo* saith the same, as doth also *Pausanias* in his *Arcadics*, where he tells us, *That Babylon, once the greatest City that the Sun ever saw, had in his time* (i. e. (u) about the middle of the second Century) *nothing left but its walls.* These remained long after. For the space within being made a Park by the *Parthian* Kings, for the keeping of wild Beasts in it for their hunting, the walls were kept up to serve for a fence to the inclosure ; and in this state it was in *Jerom's* time, who lived in the fourth Century. For he tells us, (w) *that excepting the Walls which were repaired for the inclosing of the wild Beasts, that were there kept, all within was desolation :* And in (x) another place, *That Babylon was nothing else, in his time, but a chase for wild Beasts kept within the compass of its ancient Walls for the hunting of the King, that is, of Persia.* For after the *Parthians*, there reigned in *Jerom's* time over those Countries a race of *Persian* Kings, and continued there to the time of the *Saracen* Empire, by which they were extinguished. When, or how those Walls became demolish'd, is no where said, no writer for several hundred years after *Jerom's* time speaking any more of this place. The first after him, that makes mention of it, is *Benjamin*, a *Jew* of *Tudela* in *Na-*

(s) Lib. 6. cap. 26. (t) Lib. 16. p. 738. (u) *For he lived in the time of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. See Vossius de Historicis Græcis lib. 2. cap. 14.* (w) Comment. in *Esaia* cap. 14. (x) Comment. in *Esaia* cap. 13.

var, who, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote near six hundred years since, (for he died in the year of our Lord 1173) tells us, that he was upon the place where this old City formerly stood, and found it then wholly desolated and destroyed; only he (y) saith, *some ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's Palace were then still remaining, but men were afraid to go near them, by reason of the many Serpents and Scorpions that were then in the place.* Texeira, a Portuguese, (z) in the Description of his Travels from India to Italy tells, *That there was nothing then remaining of this old and famous City, but only some few footsteps of it, and that there was no place in all that Country less frequented than that Tract of Ground whereon it formerly stood.* And Rauwolf, a German Traveller, who passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, tells us the same thing. (a) His words are as followeth. "The village of Elugo lieth on the place where formerly old Babylon, the Metropolis of Chaldaea, did stand. The Harbour lieth a quarter of a League off, whereunto those use to go, that intend to travel by Land to the famous City of Bagdad, which is situated farther to the East on the River Tigris, at a day and a half's distance. This Country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent and powerful City (which once was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful Country of Sinar) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation, and several ancient and delicate Antiquities, that still are standing hereabout in great desolation. First, by the old Bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining built of burnt brick, and so strong, that it is admirable——Just

(y) Benjaminis Itinerarium p. 76. (z) Cap. 8. (a) See Ray's Edition of those Travels in English, Part 2. Chap. 7.

" before

“ before the village of *Elugo* is the Hill whereon the
“ Castle did stand, in a Plain, whereon you may still
“ see some ruins of the Fortification, which is quite
“ demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty
“ near to it, did stand the Tower of *Babylon*.—This
“ we see still, and it is half a League in diameter, but
“ is so mightily ruined and low, and so full of venomous
“ reptiles, that have bored holes thro’ it, that one may
“ not come near it within half a mile, but only in two
“ months in the winter, when they come not out of
“ their holes. Among these Reptiles there are chiefly
“ some in the *Persian* language called *Eglo* by the In-
“ habitants, that are very poisonous. They are bigger
“ than our Lizards,” &c. All which ruins here men-
tioned by *Rauwolf*, are no doubt the same which *Ben-
jamin* of *Tudela* saith were the ruins of the Palace of
Nebuchadnezzar, that is the old Palace which stood on
the Eastern side of the River. For it is of that only,
that *Benjamin* and *Rauwolf* speak. Of the ruins of *Ba-
bylon* on the Western side, where the new Palace stood,
which *Nebuchadnezzar* himself built, neither of them
do take any notice. All this put together shews how
fully and exactly hath been fulfilled all that, which the
Prophet *Isaiab* prophesied of this place. For his words
concerning it (*chap. xiii. ver. 19—22.*) are as followeth.
*And Babylon, the glory of Kingdoms, the beauty of the
Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom
and Gomorrah, it shall never be inhabited, neither shall be
dwelt in from generation to generation, neither shall the
Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make
their folds there, but wild beasts of the desert shall be
there, and their house shall be full of doleful creatures, and
owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and the
wild beasts of the Island shall cry in their desolate houses,
and dragons in their pleasant palaces, and her time is near
to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.* Thus far
Isaiab; and besides this, there are several other Pro-
phesies in the other Prophets to the same purpose, which
have been already taken notice of. It must be acknow-

ledged, that there is mention made of *Babylon*, as of a City standing long after the time, where I have placed its desolation, as (b) in *Lucan*, (c) *Philostratus*, and others. But in all those Authors, and wherever else we find *Babylon* spoken of as a City in being after the time of *Seleucus Nicator*, it must be understood, (cc) not of old *Babylon* on the *Euphrates*, but of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*. For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old *Babylon*, so also did it in its name. At first it was called *Seleucia Babylonia*, that is the *Babylonian Seleucia*, or *Seleucia* of the Province of *Babylon*, to distinguish it from the other *Seleucia's* which were elsewhere, and after that (d) *Babylonia* simply, and at (e) length *Babylon*. That *Lucan*, by his *Babylon* in the first Book of his *Pharsalia*, means none other than *Seleucia*, or the New *Babylon*, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the Metropolis of the *Parthian* Kingdom, where the Trophies of *Crassus* were hung up after the vanquishing of the *Romans* at *Carrhæ*, which can be understood only of the *Seleucian* or New *Babylon*, and not of the Old. For that new *Babylon* only was the seat of the *Parthian* Kings, but the old *Babylon* never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this *Babylon*, (i. e. Book 6. verse 50.) he describes it as surrounded by the *Tigris* in the same manner as *Antioch* was by the *Orontes*: But it was the *Seleucian* or the New *Babylon*, and not the Old, that stood upon the *Tigris*. And as to *Philostratus*, when he brings his *Apollonius* (the Don

(b) Lib. 1. ver. 10. (c) Lib. 1. c. 17, 18, 19. (cc) Plutarch indeed in the life of *Crassus* speaks of *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, as of two distinct Cities then in being. For in a political Remark, he reckons it as a great Error in *Crassus*, that in his first irruption into *Mesopotamia* he had not directly marched on to *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, and seized those two Cities. And *Appian*, in his *Parthic's*, says the same thing. But *Plutarch* was mistaken herein, taking for two Cities then in being, what were no more than two names then given one and the same place, that is *Seleucia*. For as to old *Babylon*, it appears from the Authors I have mentioned, that it was desolated long before the time of *Crassus*. And as to *Appian*, he doth no more than recite the opinion of *Plutarch*: For he writes word for word after him as to this matter. (d) *Plin.* lib. 6. cap. 26. (e) *Stephanus Byzantinus* in Βαβυλών.

Quixote of his Romance) to the Royal Seat of the *Parthian* King, which was at that time at *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the old *Babylon*, and therefore (*f*) in the describing of it he gives us the same description, which he found given of old *Babylon* in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, and other writers. But it is no unusual thing for Romancers often to make blunders and mistakes in Geography of the places, where they lay the scenes of their Fables; and that the whole Story of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, as written by *Philostratus*, is no more than a Romance and a Fable, is well known. And perchance the giving of the name of *Babylon* to *Seleucia* was that, which gave rise to the present vulgar error, that *Bagdad* is now situated in the very place, where formerly old *Babylon* stood. For when *Bagdad* was first built it (*g*) truly was upon the same Plat of Ground, where formerly *Seleucia* or new *Babylon* stood. For as old *Babylon* was exhausted by *Seleucia*, so afterwards was *Seleucia* by *Ctesephon* and *Almadayen*, and these two again by *Bagdad*; it being the Humour of the Princes of those Ages, to build new Cities to be monuments of their Names, and to desolate old ones in the Neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means *Seleucia* being reduc'd to a desolation, as well as *Babylon*, at the time when *Abu Jaafar Almansur*, Caliph or Emperor of the *Saracens*, begun his reign (which was in the year of our Lord seven hundred and fifty four) it had nothing upon it, but the Cell of a Christian Monk, called *Dad*, and a Garden adjoining to it. From whence it had the name of *Bagdad*, that is in the language of that Country *the Garden of Dad*. And upon (*b*) this place was the

(*f*) Lib. 1. cap. 18. (g) Bocharti Geographia sacra Part 1. lib. 1. cap. 8. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum p. 121, 122. Sionitæ Descriptio Bagdadi ad calcem Geographiæ Nubiensis cap. 2. (b) Elmacini Historia Saracennica sub Anno Heg. 145. Abul Pharagii Historia Dynastiarum Editionis Pocockianæ p. 141. Eutychii Annales Tom. 2. p. 399. Geographia Nubiensis p. 204.

City first built, which hath ever since been called by this name of *Bagdad*. For the same *Almansur* being resolved, out of dislike to *Hoshemia*, where his Predecessor before resided, to build him a new City, to be the Capital Seat of his Empire, chose that place for it where this Garden lay, and there, in the year of our Lord 762, erected this City upon the very foundations, on which formerly *Seleucia* had stood, on the West-side of the *Tigris*. But not long after it was translated over to the other side, and there it at present stands about three miles above the place, where *Ctesephton* was formerly situated on the same side of the River, that is on the Eastern side; and that which was first built on the Western side is now no more than a Suburb to it. This City, from the reign of *Almansur*, was for many Years the Capital of the *Saracen* Empire, and still remains a place of great note in the East. But they are much mistaken, who think it the same with old *Babylon*. For that was upon the *Euphrates*, but *Bagdad* is upon the *Tigris*, at the distance of forty miles from the place, where that old City stood.

Seleucus built many other Cities both in the *Greater* and *Lesser Asia*: (i) sixteen of which he called *Antioch* from the name of *Antiochus* his Father; nine *Seleucia* from his own name; six *Laodicea* from the name of *Laodice* his Mother; three *Apamea* from *Apama* his first Wife; and one *Stratonicea* from *Stratonice* his last Wife; in all which he (k) planted the *Jews*, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*; where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that City, as they were at *Alexandria*. And from hence it was that the *Jews* became dispersed all over *Syria*, and the *Lesser Asia*. In the Eastern Countries beyond the *Euphrates*, they had

(i) Appianus in Syriacis p. 201. Editionis Tollianæ. (k) Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. & contra Apionem lib. 2. Eusebius in Chronica.

been settled before, ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was *Seleucus Nicator* that first gave them settlements in those Provinces of *Asia*, which are on this side the *Euphrates*. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to him in his Wars, and other Trusts and Interests, he for this reason gave them these privileges through all the Cities which he built. But it seems most likely that they were the *Babylonish Jews*, that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the *Jews* of *Palestine* being under *Ptolemy*, were not in Capacity to be serviceable to him. But *Babylon* being the place where he laid the first foundations of his Power, and the *Jews* in those Parts being as numerous as the *Jews* of *Palestine*, if not more ; it is most likely, that they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it, and that for this reason he ever after shewed so much favour to them ; and it is scarce probable, that any thing less than this, could be a sufficient cause to procure such great privileges from him, as he afterwards gave to all of that Nation.

Simon the Just, High-Priest of the *Jews*, dying after he had been (l) nine years in that Office, left behind him a Son called *Onias* ; but he being an Infant, and therefore incapable of succeeding in the High-Priesthood, (m) *Eleazar* the Brother of *Simon* was substituted High-Priest in his stead. This *Simon*, as he had by the uprightness of his Actions, and the righteousness of his Conversation both towards God and Man, merited the surname of the *Just* ; so also was he in all respects a very extraordinary Person, which the Character given of him in the fiftieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* sufficiently shews. There many of his good works, for the benefit both of the Church and State of the *Jews*, are mentioned with their due praise. But his chiefest work

Anno 292.
Ptolemy So-
ter 13.

(l) Eusebius in Chronico.

(m) Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2.

was the finishing of the Canon of the Scriptures of the old Testament. What was done herein by *Ezra* hath been above related. The Books afterwards added, were the *two Books of Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nebemiah*, *Esther*, and *Malachi*. That these could not be put into the Canon by *Ezra* is plain. For four of those Books are, upon just grounds, supposed to have been written by himself (that is the *two Books of Chronicles*, and the Books of *Ezra* and *Esther*) and the Book of *Nebemiah* was written after his time, and so most likely was the Book of *Malachi* also. And therefore a latter time must be assigned for their insertion into the Canon, and none is more likely, than that of *Simon the Just*, who is said to have been (n) the last of the men of the Great Synagogue. For what the *Jews* call the Great Synagogue, were a number of Elders amounting to one hundred and twenty, who succeeding some after others in a continued Series from the return of the *Jews* again into *Judea*, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, to the time of *Simon the Just*, laboured in the restoring of the *Jewish* Church and State in that Country; in order whereto the Holy Scriptures being the Rule they were to go by, their chief Care and Study was to make a true Collection of those Scriptures, and publish them accurately to the People. *Ezra*, and the Men of the great Synagogue that lived in his time, compleated this work as far as I have said. And as to what remained farther to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finishing of the whole thereby, than in that time, when those men of the great Synagogue ended, that were employed therein, that is in the time of *Simon the Just*, who was the last of them? And that especially since there are some particulars in those Books, which seem necessarily to refer down to times, as late as those of *Alexander the*

(n) See Maimonides and the rest of the Rabbins, who all say that the men of the great Synagogue were an hundred and twenty persons, and that *Simon the Just* was the last of them.

Great, if not later. For in the third Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*, we have the Genealogy of the Sons of *Zerubbabel* carried down for so many Descents after him, as well may be thought to reach the time of *Alexander*; and in the 12th Chapter of *Nehemiah* (ver. 22.) we have the days of *Jaddua* spoken of, as of days past; but *Jaddua* out-lived *Alexander* two years. I acknowledge these passages to have been interpolated passages, both put in after the time of *Ezra*, and after the time of *Nehemiah*, (who were the writers of those Books) by those who compleated the Canon. To say they were inserted by those Holy Men themselves, who wrote the Books, the Chronology of their History will not bear. For then they must have lived down beyond those times, which those passages refer us to, but this is inconsistent with what is written of them. And to say, that they were put in by any other than those, who by the direction of the Holy Spirit of God, completed the Canon of the Scriptures, will be to derogate from their Excellency. And therefore we must conclude, that since *Simon the Just* was the last of those that were employed in this work; it was by him, that the last finishing hand was put thereto, and that it was in his time, and under his Presidency, and chiefly by his direction, that the Canon of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, by which we now receive them, was perfected, and finally settled in the Jewish Church. And thus far having brought down this History through the Scripture times, till the Cannon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament was fully perfected, I shall here end the First Part of it. After this followed (o) the *Mishnical* Times, that is the Times of Traditions. Hitherto the Scriptures were the only Rule of Faith and Manners, which God's People studied. But thenceforth Traditions began to be re-

(o) See David Gantz in *Zemach David*, and the rest of the Jewish writers; by whom all those, who living after the men of the great Synagogue, are quoted in the *Mishna* for any Tradition, are called the *Mishnical Doctors*.

garded;

garded, till at length they overbore the word of God itself, as we find in our Saviour's time. The Collection of those Traditions they call the *Mishnah*, that is the second Law, and those who delivered and taught them, were stiled the *Mishnical* Doctors. From the death of *Simon the Just* their Time begun, and they continued to be known by that name, till *Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh* collected all those Traditions together, and wrote them into the Book which they call the *Mishnah*; which was done about an hundred and fifty years after Christ, as hath been above related. The ages in which they flourished till the time of *Christ*, shall be the Subject of the Second Part of this History.

20 MA 59



A

Chronological TABLE

TO THE Foregoing HISTORY.



Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	
3967	747	12	1	1	The beginning of the Kingdoms of <i>Assyria</i> and <i>Babylon</i> .
8	746	13	2	2	
9	745	14	3	3	
3970	744	15	4	4	
1	743	16	5	5	
2	742	1	6	6	<i>Rezin</i> King of <i>Damascus</i> , and <i>Pekab</i> King of <i>Israel</i> make War against <i>Abaz</i> , and besiege <i>Jerusalem</i> , but without Success.
3	741	2	7	7	<i>Abaz</i> vanquished, and <i>Judah</i> greatly oppressed by <i>Rezin</i> and <i>Pekab</i> .
4	740	3	8	8	<i>Abaz</i> calls in <i>Tiglath Pileser</i> King of <i>Assyria</i> to his help, who slays <i>Rezin</i> and leads part of <i>Israel</i> into Captivity.
5	739	4	9	9	<i>Abaz</i> revolts from God, and wholly suppresseth his Worship in <i>Judah</i> . <i>Pekab</i> slain by <i>Hoshea</i> .
6	738	5	10	10	
7	737	6	11	11	
8	736	7	12	12	
9	735	8	13	13	
3980	734	9	14	14	
1	733	10	1	15	
2	732	11	2	16	
3	731	12	1	17	
4	730	13	2	18	
5	729	14	3	19	<i>Tiglath Pileser</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Salmanezzer</i> .
6	728	15	4	1	<i>Salmanezzer</i> invadeth <i>Palestine</i> , and maketh <i>Samaria</i> tributary to him.
7	727	16	5	2	<i>Abaz</i> dies and is succeeded by <i>Hezekiab</i> . <i>Sabacon</i> or <i>So</i> the <i>Æthiopian</i> made King of <i>Egypt</i> .
8	726	1	1	3	<i>Hezekiab</i> restor'd the true Worship of God in <i>Judah</i> and <i>Jerusalem</i> .
9	725	2	2	4	
3990	724	3	3	5	<i>Salmanezzer</i> lays Siege to <i>Samaria</i> .

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Notes
3991	723	5	4	6	5	
2	722	6	5	7	6	
3	721	7	1	8	7	Salmanezzer took Samaria and extinguish'd the Kingdom of Israel. Tobit led into Captivity at the end of the 6th Jewish Year of the Reign of Hezekiab.
4	720	8	2	9	8	Salmanezzer maketh War upon Tyre, and besiegeth it five Years.
5	719	9	3	10	1	Sewecbus succeedeth So in the Kingdom of Egypt.
6	718	10	4	11	2	
7	717	11	5	12	3	
8	716	12	6	13	4	
9	715	13	7	14	5	Salmanezzer dieth, and is succeeded by Sennacherib.
4000	714	14	8	1	6	Sennacherib invadeth Judaa. Hezekiab's Sickness.
1	713	15	9	2	7	Merodach Baladan's Embassy to Hezekiab. Sennacherib invadeth Egypt.
2	712	16	10	3	8	
3	711	17	11	4	9	
4	710	18	12	5	10	Sennacherib on his return from Egypt, invadeth Judaa, and loseth all his Army, it being smitten by the hand of God.
5	709	19	1	6	11	The Medes revolt from Sennacherib, and make Deioces King.
6	708	20	2	7	12	
7	707	21	3	8	13	
8	706	22	4	1	14	Sennacherib being slain, is succeeded by Efarbaddon his Son.
9	705	23	5	2	1	Tirbakab succeedeth Sewecbus in the Kingdom of Egypt.
4010	704	24	1	3	2	
1	703	25	2	4	3	
2	702	26	1	5	4	
3	701	27	2	6	5	
4	700	28	3	7	6	
5	699	29	1	8	7	
6	698	1	2	9	8	Hezekiab being dead, is succeeded by Manasseb his Son.
7	697	2	3	10	9	
8	696	3	4	11	10	
9	695	4	5	12	11	
4020	694	5	6	13	12	
1	693	6	1	14	13	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Kings of
4022	692	7	1	15	14	18	
3	691	8	2	16	15	19	
4	690	9	3	17	16	20	
5	689	10	4	18	17	21	
6	688	11	1	19	18	22	
7	687	12	2	20	1	23	On the Death of <i>Tirbakab</i> ended the Reign of the <i>Æthiopian</i> Kings in <i>Egypt</i> , and an <i>Interregnum</i> of two Years succeeded.
8	686	13	3	21	2	24	Twelve Princes seize the Kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> , and govern it by a joint Confederacy fifteen Years.
9	685	14	4	22	1	25	
4030	684	15	5	23	2	26	
1	683	16	6	24	3	27	
2	682	17	7	25	4	28	
3	681	18	8	26	5	29	
4	680	19	1	27	6	30	<i>Eferbaddon</i> King of <i>Assyria</i> is made King of <i>Babylon</i> .
5	679	20	2	28	7	31	
6	678	21	3	29	8	32	<i>Eferbaddon</i> invadeth <i>Palestine</i> ; planteth a Colony of Foreigners in <i>Samaria</i> ; takes <i>Manasseh</i> Prisoner, and carries him in Chains to <i>Babylon</i> .
7	677	22	4	30	9	33	<i>Manasseh</i> is restored, and the <i>Cutbeans</i> in <i>Samaria</i> are infested with Lions.
8	676	23	5	31	10	34	
9	675	24	6	32	11	35	
4040	674	25	7	33	12	36	
1	673	26	8	34	13	37	
2	672	27	9	35	14	38	
3	671	28	10	36	15	39	
4	670	29	11		1	40	<i>Psammitichus</i> , one of the 12 confederated Princes of <i>Egypt</i> , having destroyed the rest, seizeth the whole Kingdom to himself.
5	669	30	12		2	41	
6	668	31	13		3	42	
7	667	32	1		4	43	<i>Eferbaddon</i> being dead, is succeeded by <i>Saosduchinus</i> in the <i>Assyrian</i> and <i>Babylonian</i> Kingdoms.
8	666	33	2		5	44	
9	665	34	3		6	45	
4050	664	35	4		7	46	
1	663	36	5		8	47	
2	662	37	6		9	48	
3	661	38	7		10	49	
4	660	39	8		11	50	
5	659	40	9		12	51	
6	658	41	10		13	52	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Events
4057	657	42	11	14	53	Deioces kill'd in Battle by the King of Babylon and Assyria.
8	656	43	12	15	1	Pbraortes his Son succeeds him.
9	655	44	13	16	2	Olofernes invadeth Judæa, and is slain by Judith.
4060	654	45	14	17	3	
1	653	46	15	18	4	
2	652	47	16	19	5	
3	651	48	17	20	6	
4	650	49	18	21	7	
5	649	50	19	22	8	
6	648	51	20	23	9	
7	647	52	21	24	10	
8	646	53	22	25	11	
9	645	54	23	26	12	
4070	644	55	24	27	13	
1	643	56	25	28	14	Manasseh being dead, is succeeded by Ammon.
2	642	57	26	29	15	
3	641	58	27	30	16	Ammon is murder'd by his Servants.
4	640	59	28	31	17	He is succeeded by Josiab his Son.
5	639	60	29	32	18	
6	638	61	30	33	19	
7	637	62	31	34	20	
8	636	63	32	35	21	
9	635	64	33	36	22	Pbraortes besieging Nineveh, is there slain.
4080	634	65	34	37	1	Cyaxares his Son succeeds him.
1	633	66	35	38	2	Josiab's first Reformation of Religion in Judæa. The Scythians invade the upper Asia.
2	632	67	36	39	3	
3	631	68	37	40	4	
4	630	69	38	41	5	
5	629	70	39	42	6	Josiab's second Reformation of Religion in Judæa.
6	628	71	40	43	7	Jeremiab first called to the Prophetic Office.
7	627	72	41	44	8	
8	626	73	42	45	9	Nabopolassar rebels against the King of Assyria, and makes himself King of Babylon.
9	625	74	43	46	10	
4090	624	75	44	47	11	
1	623	76	45	48	12	Josiab's third Reformation of Religion in Judæa.
2	622	77	46	49	13	
3	621	78	47	50	14	
4	620	79	48	51	15	
5	619	80	49	52	16	
6	618	81	50	53	17	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Events
4097	617	24	9	54	18	<i>Psammitichus</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> dies.
8	616	25	10	1	19	Is succeeded by <i>Necus</i> his Son, called <i>Pharaoh Necus</i> in the Holy Scriptures.
9	615	26	11	2	20	
4100	614	27	12	3	21	
1	613	28	13	4	22	
2	612	29	14	5	23	<i>Nineweb</i> destroyed by the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Babylonians</i> .
3	611	30	15	6	24	
4	610	31	16	7	25	<i>Josiab</i> slain in Battle by <i>Necbo</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> .
5	609	1	17	8	26	First, <i>Jeboabaz</i> , and after him <i>Jeboiakim</i> succeeds in his stead.
6	608	2	18	9	27	
7	607	3	19	10	28	
8	606	4	20	11	29	1 <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> takes <i>Jerusalem</i> ; from whence begin the 70 Years Captivity of the <i>Jews</i> .
9	605	5	21	12	30	2 <i>Nabopolassar</i> King of <i>Babylon</i> dies and is succeeded by <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> his Son.
4110	604	6	1	13	31	3 <i>Daniel</i> interprets <i>Nebuchadnezzar's</i> Dream. <i>Jeboiakim</i> rebels against <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> .
1	603	7	2	14	32	4
2	602	8	3	15	33	5
3	601	9	4	16	34	6
4	600	10	5	1	35	7 <i>Darius</i> the <i>Median</i> born.
5	599	11	6	2	36	8 <i>Cyrus</i> born. <i>Jeboiakim</i> slain.
6	598	1	7	3	37	9 1 <i>Jeconiah</i> carried into Captivity, & <i>Zedekiah</i> made King in his stead.
7	597	2	8	4	38	10
8	596	3	9	5	39	11
9	595	4	10	6	40	12
4120	594	5	11	1	1	13 4 <i>Ezekiel</i> call'd to the Prophetic Office. <i>Pharaoh Hophra</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> .
1	593	6	12	2	2	14
2	592	7	13	3	3	15 7 <i>Zedekiah</i> confederates with <i>Pharaoh Hophra</i> .
3	591	8	14	4	4	16 8 And rebels against <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> .
4	590	9	15	5	5	17 9 <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> besiegeth <i>Jerusalem</i> .
5	589	10	16	6	6	18 10 Forceth <i>Pharaoh Hophra</i> to retreat who came to relieve it.
6	588	11	17	7	7	19 11 Takes the City, and utterly destroys it with the Temple.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Kings of Judah.	Captivity of Jeconiah.	Events.
4127	587	20. 18	8	8	20	12	Returns to <i>Babylon</i> and erects the Golden Image in the Plains of <i>Dura</i> .
8	586	21. 19	9	9	21	13	Comes again into <i>Palestine</i> and besiegeth <i>Tyre</i> thirteen Years.
9	585	22. 20	10	10	22	14	
4130	584	23. 21	11	11	23	15	The Remainder of the <i>Jews</i> and <i>Israelites</i> carried away by <i>Nebuzaradan</i> .
1	583	24. 22	12	12	24	16	
2	582	25. 23	13	13	25	17	
3	581	26. 24	14	14	26	18	
4	580	27. 25	15	15	27	19	
5	579	28. 26	16	16	28	20	
6	578	29. 27	17	17	29	21	
7	577	30. 28	18	18	30	22	
8	576	31. 29	19	19	31	23	
9	575	32. 30	20	20	32	24	
4140	574	33. 31	21	21	33	25	The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt from <i>Pbaraob Hopbra</i> .
1	573	34. 32	22	22	34	26	<i>Tyre</i> taken, and <i>Egypt</i> invaded by <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> .
2	572	35. 33	23	23	35	27	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> ravageth <i>Egypt</i> .
3	571	36. 34	24	24	36	28	Appoints <i>Amasis</i> King, and returns to <i>Babylon</i> .
4	570	37. 35	25	25	37	29	<i>Pbaraob Hopbra</i> slain by <i>Amasis</i> .
5	569	38. 36	1	26	38	30	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> distracted.
6	568	39. 37	2	27	39	31	
7	567	40. 38	3	28	40	32	
8	566	41. 39	4	29	41	33	
9	565	42. 40	5	30	42	34	
4150	564	43. 41	6	31	43	35	
1	563	44. 42	7	32	44	36	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> restored to his Senses.
2	562	45. 43	8	33	45	37	Dies in the 37th Year of <i>Jeboiacbin's</i> Captivity.
3	561	1	9	34	46		<i>Jeboiacbin</i> released and advanced.
4	560	2	10	35	47		<i>Evilmerodach</i> slain by a Conspiracy against him, and <i>Astyages</i> dies in <i>Media</i> .
5	559	1	11	1	48		<i>Neriglissar</i> succeeds in <i>Babylon</i> , and <i>Cyaxares</i> (the <i>Darius Medus</i> of the Scriptures) in <i>Media</i> . <i>Cyrus</i> comes to the Aid of the <i>Medes</i> against the <i>Babylonians</i> .
6	558	2	12	2	49		Great Preparations made by the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Babylonians</i> for War against each other.
7	557	3	13	3	50		
8	556	4	14	4	51		<i>Cyrus</i> being General of the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Persians</i> under <i>Cyaxares</i> , slays <i>Neriglissar</i> in Battle. <i>Laborsoarchod</i> succeeds, and is slain.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Kings of Judah.	Capitivity of Judah.	High Priests of Judah.	After the Captivity.
	9551	1	15	5	52	Nabonadius (the Belsazzar of the Scriptures) succeeds Laborsarchod.		
4160	554	2	16	6	53			
1	553	3	17	7	54	Daniel saw the Vision of the Ram and the He-Goat, Chap. 8.		
2	552	4	18	8	55			
3	551	5	19	9	56	Belsazzar goes into Lesser Asia, and there hires a great Army against Cyrus, of which Cræsus takes the Command.		
4	550	6	20	10	57	Cyrus sends a Spy into Cræsus's Army, by whom he hath Intelligence of all there done.		
5	549	7	21	11	58	Cyrus vanquisheth Cræsus at the River Halys, pursues him to Sardis, and takes the City, and Cræsus in it.		
6	548	8	22	12	59	Cyrus brings all the Lesser Asia under his Dominion.		
7	547	9	23	13	60			
8	546	10	24	14	61			
9	545	11	25	15	62			
4170	544	12	26	16	63	Cyrus having settled all Affairs in the Lesser Asia, subdues Syria, Palestine, and Arabia.		
2	543	13	27	17	64			
2	542	14	28	18	65	Cyrus marcheth into the Upper Asia, and reduceth all there under his Obedience.		
3	541	15	29	19	66	Cyrus returns into Assyria, and lays Siege to Babylon.		
4	540	16	30	20	67			
5	539	17	31	21	68	Cyrus takes Babylon and slays Belsazzar.		
6	538	18	32	22	69	Cyrus placeth his Uncle Darius on the Throne at Babylon, and makes an Expedition into Syria.		
7	537	19	33		70	Darius dies at Babylon, and Cyrus succeeds in the whole Empire.		
8	536	20						
9	535	21						
4180	534	22						
1	533	23						
2	532	24						
3	531	25						
4	530	26						

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	Kings of Egypt.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4185	529	Cambyfes.	1	8	8	Cambyfes his Son fucceeds in the Empire.
	6 528		2	9	9	
	7 527		3	10	10	
	8 526		4	11	11	He invadeth Egypt.
	9 525		5	12	12	Vanquisheth <i>Pfamminitus</i> , who newly fucceeded <i>Amasis</i> his Father in the Kingdom, and conquereth the whole Kingdom.
4190	524		6	13	13	Makes an Expedition againft the <i>Ethiopians</i> , and returns with Lofs.
	1 523		7	14	14	Slays the Egyptian God <i>Apis</i> , and commits many Outrages among them.
	2 522		8	15	15	Returns into <i>Syria</i> , and there dies. The <i>Magians</i> feize the Kingdom.
	3 521	<i>Darius Hyftafpis.</i>	1	16	16	The <i>Magians</i> flain, and <i>Darius Hyftafpis</i> chosen King.
	4 520		2	17	17	The rebuilding of the Temple reformed by the <i>Jews</i> .
	5 519		3	18	18	The <i>Samaritans</i> again difturb them till a Decree was obtained for the going on with the Work.
	6 518		4	19	19	Which Decree is brought to <i>Jerufalem</i> , and there executed.
	7 517		5	20	20	The <i>Babylonians</i> revolting from <i>Darius</i> , are befieged by him.
	8 516		6	21	21	<i>Babylon</i> taken by <i>Darius</i> after a Siege of twenty Months.
	9 515		7	22	22	The Temple rebuilt and dedicated.
4200	514		8	23	23	The <i>Jews</i> obtain Sentence from <i>Darius</i> againft the <i>Samaritans</i> about the Tribute of <i>Samaria</i> .
	1 513		9	24	24	<i>Darius</i> paffeth the <i>Bosphorus</i> and the <i>Danube</i> to make War againft the <i>Scythians</i> , and returns with the lofs of half his Army.
	2 512		10	25	25	Subdues <i>Thrace</i> , and returns to <i>Sufa</i> .
	3 511		11	26	26	
	4 510		12	27	27	The <i>Scythians</i> ravage <i>Thrace</i> , and drive <i>Miltiades</i> out of the <i>Cherfonefus</i> .
	5 509		13	28	28	<i>Darius</i> fends <i>Scylax</i> with a Fleet down the <i>Indus</i> to difcover <i>India</i> .
	6 508		14	29	29	
	7 507		15	30	30	<i>Scylax</i> returns by the way of the Ocean and the Red Sea, and gives <i>Darius</i> an account of his Discoveries.
	8 506		16	31	31	<i>Darius</i> invades and conquers <i>India</i> .
	9 505		17	32	32	
4210	504		18	33	33	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4211	503	19	34	34	The Persians under the Command of <i>Aristagoras</i> of <i>Miletus</i> , make an Attempt upon <i>Naxos</i> , and miscarry in it. <i>Tyre</i> restored.
2	502	20	35	35	<i>Aristagoras</i> and the <i>Ionians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> .
3	501	21	36	36	The <i>Athenians</i> enter into a Confederacy with the <i>Ionians</i> against <i>Darius</i> .
4	500	22	37	37	They burn <i>Sardis</i> , which gave the first rise to the Persian War against the <i>Greeks</i> .
5	499	23	38	38	The Persians prevail against the <i>Ionians</i> . <i>Aristagoras</i> flees into <i>Thrace</i> . <i>Hippias</i> <i>Milesius</i> returns into <i>Ionia</i> and joins the Revolters.
6	498	24	39	39	<i>Aristagoras</i> slain in <i>Thrace</i> .
7	497	25	40	40	<i>Miletus</i> taken; the <i>Ionians</i> reduced, and an end put to that War.
8	496	26	41	41	<i>Hippias</i> taken by the Persians, and crucified.
9	495	27	42	42	The Persians reduce the <i>Hellepont</i> and <i>Thracian Chersonesus</i> , and force <i>Miltiades</i> to fly to <i>Athens</i> .
4220	494	28	43	43	<i>Mardonius</i> being sent by <i>Darius</i> to make War against the <i>Greeks</i> , miscarries in the Expedition, and returns with great Loss.
1	493	29	44	44	<i>Darius</i> sends Heralds to demand Earth and Water of the <i>Greeks</i> .
2	492	30	45	45	Two other Generals sent against the <i>Greeks</i> in the place of <i>Mardonius</i> . <i>Zoroastres</i> appears at the Persian Court.
3	491	31	46	46	The Persians invade <i>Attica</i> , and are defeated at <i>Marathon</i> .
4	490	32	47	47	<i>Darius</i> makes great Preparations to invade <i>Greece</i> in Person.
5	489	33	48	48	
6	488	34	49	49	
7	487	35	50	50	The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> .
8	486	36	51	51	<i>Darius</i> declares <i>Xerxes</i> his Successor, and dies.
9	485	1	52	52	<i>Xerxes</i> confirms to the <i>Jews</i> all their Privileges.
4230	484	2	53	53	Reduceth <i>Egypt</i> .
1	483	3	54	1	Resolves on a War with the <i>Greeks</i> , and makes great Preparations for it.
2	482	4	55	2	Enters into a League with the <i>Carthaginians</i> against the <i>Greeks</i> .
3	481	5	56	3	Comes with a prodigious Army to <i>Sardis</i> , and there winters.
4	480	6	57	4	Passeth the <i>Hellepont</i> , marcheth into <i>Greece</i> , loseth the Battle of <i>Salamis</i> and returns with disgrace to <i>Sardis</i> . The <i>Carthaginians</i> vanquished in <i>Sicily</i> by <i>Gelo</i> .
5	479	7	58	5	The Persians vanquished at <i>Plataea</i> and <i>Mycale</i> on the same Day.
6	478	8	59	6	<i>Xerxes</i> destroys the Temple of <i>Bel</i> at <i>Babylon</i> .
7	477	9	60	7	<i>Pausanias</i> and <i>Aristides</i> pursue the War against the Persians.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Perſia.	Kings of	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4238	476	10	61	8	Pausanias suspected of Treason by the <i>Lacedemonians</i> , is recalled.	
9	475	11	62	9	Still carries on the Treason for the betraying of <i>Greece</i> to <i>Xerxes</i> .	
4240	474	12	63	10	Is tried for it, and acquitted for want of full Evidence.	
1	473	13	64	11	Full Discovery being made of his Treason, he is put to Death for it.	
2	472	14	65	12	<i>Themistocles</i> being accused by the <i>Lacedemonians</i> of the same Treason is acquitted of it at <i>Athens</i> .	
3	471	15	66	13	<i>Themistocles</i> being banished <i>Athens</i> for ten Years, is again accused of the same Treason by the <i>Lacedemonians</i> before the States of <i>Greece</i> , and thereby forced to fly into <i>Perſia</i> .	
4	470	16	67	14	<i>Cimon</i> , General of the <i>Athenians</i> , gains two Victories over the <i>Perſians</i> near the River <i>Eurymedon</i> on the same Day, the first by Sea, and the second by Land.	
5	469	17	68	15	He makes many other Conquests for the <i>Athenians</i> on the <i>Helleſpont</i> and elsewhere.	
6	468	18	69	16	<i>Xerxes</i> discouraged by so many Defeats, gives over the <i>Grecian</i> War.	
7	467	19	70	17		
8	466	20	71	18		
9	465	21	72	19	<i>Xerxes</i> slain by the Treason of <i>Artabanus</i> .	
4250	464	1	73	20	<i>Artaxerxes</i> (the <i>Abasuerus</i> of the Book of <i>Eſther</i>) succeeds, and slays <i>Artabanus</i> .	
1	463	2	74	21	He conquers his Brother <i>Hystaspes</i> , and thereby becomes thoroughly settled in the Throne.	
2	462	3	75	22	Hereon he makes a great Feast for all his Nobles, and divorceth <i>Vaſhti</i> his Queen.	
3	461	4	76	23	A Collection of Virgins made for the King, of which <i>Eſther</i> was one.	
4	460	5	77	24	<i>Eſther</i> pleaseth the King, and becomes his Concubine. The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt, and make <i>Inarus</i> their King.	
5	459	6	78	25	<i>Achemenides</i> , Brother of the King, being sent against the <i>Egyptians</i> , is vanquished and slain, and the remainder of his Army besieged in <i>Memphis</i> .	
6	458	7	79	26	<i>Exra</i> sent to be Governor of <i>Judæa</i> . <i>Eſther</i> is made Queen.	
7	457	8	80	27	<i>Exra</i> separated the <i>Jews</i> from their strange Wives. <i>Mordecai</i> discovers the Treason of <i>Bigthan</i> and <i>Tereſh</i> .	
8	456	9	81	28	<i>Artabaſus</i> and <i>Megabyzus</i> raise the Siege of <i>Memphis</i> , defeat <i>Inarus</i> , and besiege him and his <i>Athenian</i> Auxiliaries in the Island <i>Proſopitis</i> .	
9	455	10	82	29		
4260	454	11	83	30	They force <i>Proſopitis</i> , take <i>Inarus</i> Prisoner, drive the <i>Athenians</i> out of <i>Egypt</i> , and again reduce all that Country under the <i>Perſian</i> King.	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	High Priests of Judah.	High Priests of Judah.
4261	453	12	84	1	1	Haman plotteth the Destruction of the Jews.
2	452	13	85	2	2	Haman's Plot defeated in his own Destruction, and the Feast of <i>Purim</i> instituted in remembrance of it.
3	451	14	86	3	3	
4	450	15	87	4	4	<i>Cimon</i> sent by the <i>Athenians</i> to <i>Cyprus</i> with a great Fleet.
5	449	16	88	5	5	Where he beats the <i>Persians</i> both by Sea and Land, and then dies at <i>Cytium</i> . <i>Artaxerxes</i> makes Peace with the <i>Athenians</i> .
6	448	17	89	6	6	<i>Inarus</i> crucified, and <i>Megabyzus</i> rebels.
7	447	18	90	7	7	<i>Megabyzus</i> defeats the first Army sent against him.
8	446	19	91	8	8	He defeats the second Army sent against him, and is reconciled to the King.
9	445	20	92	9	9	<i>Nebemiab</i> sent Governor to <i>Judaea</i> , and rebuilds the Walls of <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Megabyzus</i> banished to <i>Cyrta</i> on the Red-Sea.
4270	444	21	93	10	10	<i>Nebemiab</i> repeoples <i>Jerusalem</i> , and proceeds to reform Church and State in <i>Judab</i> . <i>Ezra</i> publisheth his Edition of the <i>Hebrew Scriptures</i> .
1	443	22	94	11	11	
2	442	23	95	12	12	
3	441	24	96	13	13	
4	440	25	97	14	14	<i>Megabyzus</i> returns to the <i>Persian</i> Court.
5	439	26	98	15	15	
6	438	27	99	16	16	
7	437	28	100	17	17	
8	436	29	101	18	18	
9	435	30	102	19	19	
4280	434	31	103	20	20	
1	433	32	104	21	21	<i>Nebemiab</i> goes from <i>Jerusalem</i> to the <i>Persian</i> Court.
2	432	33	105	22	22	<i>Meto</i> begun his Cycle.
3	431	34	106	23	23	The <i>Peloponnesian</i> War began. A great Plague broke out in the East.
4	430	35	107	24	24	It came to <i>Athens</i> , and grievously afflicted that City.
5	429	36	108	25	25	About this time flourished <i>Malachi</i> the Prophet.
6	428	37	109	26	26	<i>Nebemiab</i> comes again to <i>Jerusalem</i> with a new Commission. <i>Plato</i> the Philosopher born.
7	427	38	110	27	27	<i>Nebemiab</i> goes on farther to reform the <i>Jewish</i> Church and State.
8	426	39	111	28	28	The Plague again broke out at <i>Athens</i> , which produced a Law there for Polygamy.
9	425	40	112	29	29	
4290	424	41	113	30	30	<i>Artaxerxes</i> dying, <i>Xerxes</i> his Son succeeds. He is slain by <i>Sogdianus</i> , and <i>Sogdianus</i> by <i>Ocbus</i> , who with the Crown assumes the Name of <i>Darius</i> .
1	423	1	114	31	31	<i>Darius</i> (commonly called <i>Darius Notbus</i>) begins his Reign.
2	422	2	115	32	32	Vanquisheth <i>Arfites</i> his Brother, and puts him to Death.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	Amysrtus.	Paufitis.	Psammiticus.	Nepherus.	
4293	421	3	116	33						<i>Pisutbnes</i> rebels against <i>Darius</i> in Lesser <i>Asia</i> , and is vanquished and put to Death by <i>Tissaphernes</i> , one of <i>Darius's</i> Lieutenants.
4	420	4	117	34						The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> , and make <i>Amyrtus</i> their King.
5	419	5	118	35						<i>Tissaphernes</i> and <i>Pharnabazus</i> Governors of Lesser <i>Asia</i> for <i>Darius</i> .
6	418	6	119	36						
7	417	7	120	37						
8	416	8	121	38						
9	415	9	122	39						
4300	414	10	123	40						
				<i>Joiadab.</i>						
1	413	11	124	1						
2	412	12	125	2						
3	411	13	126	3						
4	410	14	127	4						
5	409	15	128	5						The last Act of Reformation by <i>Nebemiab</i> , 49 Years after it had been begun by <i>Ezra</i> , where end the first seven Weeks of <i>Daniel's</i> Prophecy.
6	408	16	129	6						The Temple on Mount <i>Gerizim</i> began to be built by <i>Manasseb</i> .
7	407	17	130	7						<i>Cyrus</i> the younger Son of <i>Darius</i> sent to govern in Lesser <i>Asia</i> .
8	406	18	131	8						
9	405	19	132	9						<i>Cyrus</i> recall'd to the Persian Court. <i>Darius</i> dies, and <i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> succeeds him.
4310	404	1	133	10						<i>Athens</i> taken, and the <i>Peloponnesian</i> War ended. <i>Cyrus</i> sent back again to his Government in Lesser <i>Asia</i> .
1	403	2	134	11						He designeth War against his Brother, and lifts Forces for this Purpose.
2	402	3	135	12						
3	401	4	136	13						He marcheth towards <i>Babylon</i> , is vanquished in Battle and slain.
4	400	5	137	14						<i>Thimbro</i> sent by the <i>Lacedemonians</i> into Lesser <i>Asia</i> to make War against the <i>Persians</i> . <i>Xenophon</i> brings home the <i>Greeks</i> that followed <i>Cyrus</i> , and joins him.
5	399	6	138	15						<i>Dercyllidas</i> succeeds <i>Thimbro</i> , [<i>Socrates</i> put to Death by the <i>Athenians</i> .]
6	398	7	139	16						And vigorously carries on the War against the <i>Persians</i> .
7	397	8	140	17						
8	396	9	141	18						<i>Agessilaus</i> passeth into <i>Asia</i> , to carry on the War there against the <i>Persians</i> .
9	395	10	142	19						Vanquisheth <i>Tissaphernes</i> , who is thereon put to Death by <i>Artaxerxes</i> .
4320	394	11	143	20						<i>Agessilaus</i> called home to defend his Country against a Confederacy of the <i>Greeks</i> against them. <i>Conon</i> wins the Victory of <i>Cnidus</i> .

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4321	393	12	144	21	3	Conon rebuilds the Walls of Athens, and again restores that City.
2	392	13	145	22	4	The Lacedemonians renew the War in Asia against the Persians, but without Success.
3	391	14	146	23	5	Artaxerxes makes great Preparations for War against Cyprus.
4	390	15	147	24	6	
5	389	16	148	25	1	
6	388	17	149	26	2	The Athenians send Chabrias to the assistance of Euagoras King of Cyprus, who reduceth the whole Island to him.
7	387	18	150	27	3	The Peace of Antalcidas made between the Lacedemonians and the Persians.
8	386	19	151	28	4	The Persians invade Cyprus with three hundred thousand Men.
9	385	20	152	29	5	And make an absolute conquest of that Island.
4330	384	21	153	30	6	Artaxerxes invades the Caducians with ill Success. Aristotle born.
1	383	22	154	31	7	
2	382	23	155	32	8	
3	381	24	156	33	9	
4	380	25	157	34	10	
5	379	26	158	35	11	
6	378	27	159	36	12	
7	377	28	160	37	13	Artaxerxes resolves on a War to reduce Egypt.
8	376	29	161	38	1	Pharnabazus appointed General of this War.
9	375	30	162	39	1	He makes great Preparations for it.
4340	374	31	163	40	2	Invades Egypt, and is forced to return with ill Success.
1	373	32	164	1	3	
2	372	33	165	2	4	
3	371	34	166	3	5	The Lacedemonians beaten at Leuctra by the Thebans.
4	370	35	167	4	6	
5	369	36	168	5	7	
6	368	37	169	6	8	
7	367	38	170	7	9	
8	366	39	171	8	10	Jobanan, High Priest of the Jews, kills his Brother Jeshua in the Temple, for which the Persian Governor lays a Mulct upon the Jews for seven Years.
9	365	40	172	9	11	
4350	364	41	173	10	12	
1	363	42	174	11	1	The Battle of Mantinea between the Lacedemonians and the Thebans, in which the former lose the Victory, and the latter their General Epaminondas.
2	362	43	175	12	2	Agésilau goes into Egypt with an Army to assist Tacbus.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4353	361	44	176	13	1	He deserts <i>Tachus</i> and makes <i>Neftanebus</i> King.
4	360	45	177	14	2	He vanquisheth the Enemies of <i>Neftanebus</i> .
5	359	46	178	15	3	And fully settles him in the Kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> . [<i>Artaxerxes</i> dies.]
6	358	1	179	16	4	He returns homeward, and dies in the way on the Coasts of <i>Africa</i> . Great revolts in the <i>Persian</i> Empire on the succession of <i>Oebus</i> .
7	357	2	180	17	5	
8	356	3	181	18	6	<i>Alexander</i> the Great born at <i>Pella</i> in <i>Macedonia</i> .
9	355	4	182	19	7	
4360	354	5	183	20	8	
1	353	6	184	21	9	
2	352	7	185	22	10	
3	351	8	186	23	11	The <i>Cyprians</i> and <i>Pbænicians</i> revolting from <i>Oebus</i> , are again reduced. <i>Sidon</i> taken and destroyed by <i>Oebus</i> .
4	350	9	187	24	12	<i>Oebus</i> invades <i>Egypt</i> , expels <i>Neftanebus</i> , and reduceth the whole Country.
5	349	10	188	25		<i>Mentor</i> made Governor of Lesser <i>Asia</i> . <i>Memnon</i> his Brother enters into the <i>Persian</i> Service.
6	348	11	189	26		<i>Plato</i> the Philosopher dies.
7	347	12	190	27		
8	346	13	191	28		
9	345	14	192	29		
4370	344	15	193	30		
1	343	16	194	31		
2	342	17	195	32		
3	341	18	196	1		
4	340	19	197	2		
5	339	20	198	3		
6	338	21	199	4		<i>Bagoas</i> the Euntuch poisoneth <i>Oebus</i> , and maketh <i>Arogus</i> or <i>Arfes</i> King in his stead.
7	337	1	200	5		<i>Philip</i> , King of <i>Macedon</i> , after the Victory of <i>Chæronea</i> , made General of <i>Greece</i> against the <i>Persians</i> .
8	336	2	201	6		<i>Bagoas</i> poisons <i>Arogus</i> , and <i>Pausanias</i> slays <i>Philip</i> King of <i>Macedon</i> . <i>Darius</i> succeeds the former, and <i>Alexander</i> the latter.
9	335	1	202	7		<i>Darius</i> puts <i>Bagoas</i> to Death. <i>Alexander</i> destroys <i>Thebes</i> , and is appointed General of the <i>Grecians</i> against the <i>Persians</i> in the place of his Father.
4380	334	2	203	8		<i>Alexander</i> passeth into <i>Asia</i> , and wins the Battle of <i>Granicus</i> .
1	333	3	204	9		He reduceth all Lesser <i>Asia</i> , and wins the Battle of <i>Iffus</i> .
2	332	4	205	10		He destroys <i>Tyre</i> and <i>Gaza</i> , and conquers <i>Egypt</i> .

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4333	331	<i>Alexander.</i>	1	206	11 He passeth the <i>Euphrates</i> and the <i>Tigris</i> , wins the Battle of <i>Arbela</i> , and takes <i>Babylon</i> , <i>Susa</i> and <i>Persopolis</i> , and the Provinces belonging to them.
4	330		2	207	12 <i>Darius</i> slain by <i>Bessus</i> . <i>Alexander</i> subdues the <i>Medes</i> , <i>Partians</i> , <i>Hyrcanians</i> , <i>Arrians</i> , and several other Nations. Puts <i>Philotas</i> and <i>Parmenio</i> to Death.
5	329		3	208	13 He subdues the <i>Bactrians</i> and <i>Sogdians</i> , and puts <i>Bessus</i> to Death.
6	328		4	209	14 He marries <i>Roxana</i> , passeth into <i>India</i> , and conquers all to the River <i>Indus</i> .
7	327		5	210	15 He passeth the <i>Indus</i> , vanquisheth <i>Porus</i> , and subdueth all as far as the River <i>Hypobasis</i> .
8	326		6	211	16 He puts his Army on board his Fleet, and saileth down the <i>Indus</i> , conquering several Nations in his way.
9	325		7	212	17 Having passed down to the Mouth of the <i>Indus</i> , he sends <i>Nearchus</i> with his Fleet through the Ocean to <i>Babylon</i> , and marcheth thitherward with his Army by Land.
4390	324		8	213	18 He conquers the <i>Cossians</i> , and enters <i>Babylon</i> .
1	323	<i>Philipus.</i>	1	214	19 And there dies. <i>Arideus</i> his Brother made nominal King, and the Commanders of the Army divide the Provinces of the Empire among themselves.
2	322		2	215	20 <i>Perdiccas</i> and <i>Eumenes</i> make War against <i>Antipater</i> , <i>Craterus</i> and <i>Ptolemy</i> .
3	321		3	216	1 <i>Eumenes</i> vanquisheth <i>Craterus</i> , and slays him in Battle. <i>Perdiccas</i> is slain by his own Soldiers in <i>Egypt</i> . <i>Aristotle</i> dies.
4	320		4	217	2 <i>Antigonus</i> being sent against <i>Eumenes</i> , vanquisheth him in Battle. <i>Ptolemy</i> seizeth <i>Judaea</i> , <i>Phœnicia</i> , and <i>Cœle-Syria</i> , and taketh <i>Jerusalem</i> .
5	319		5	218	3 <i>Antipater</i> being dead, <i>Cassander</i> seizeth <i>Macedon</i> , and <i>Antigonus</i> all Lesser <i>Asia</i> , and shuts up <i>Eumenes</i> in the Castle of <i>Nora</i> .
6	318		6	219	4 <i>Eumenes</i> being got out of <i>Nora</i> , passeth into <i>Cilicia</i> , and having there gotten together an Army, marcheth into <i>Syria</i> , and from thence into <i>Mesopotamia</i> .
7	317		7	220	5 <i>Eumenes</i> marcheth to <i>Susa</i> , and is there joined by the Governors of the Eastern Provinces. <i>Arideus</i> slain by <i>Olympias</i> .
8	316		1	221	6 <i>Antigonus</i> marcheth into the East against <i>Eumenes</i> .
9	315		2	222	7 <i>Eumenes</i> betrayed into the Hands of <i>Antigonus</i> by his own Soldiers, and put to Death. <i>Seleucus</i> , <i>Ptolemy</i> , <i>Cassander</i> , and <i>Lyfimachus</i> confederate against <i>Antigonus</i> .
4400	314	<i>Alexander & Egeus.</i>	3	223	8 <i>Antigonus</i> dispossesseth <i>Ptolemy</i> of <i>Syria</i> , <i>Phœnicia</i> , and <i>Judaea</i> .
1	313		4	224	9 <i>Antigonus</i> leaveth <i>Demetrius</i> his Son with part of his Army in <i>Phœnicia</i> , and marcheth with the other against <i>Cassander</i> .

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	High Priests of Judah.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4402	312	5	10	1	Seleucus.	1 Ptolemy seizeth Cyprus, beats Demetrius at Gaza, and again recovers Syria and Phœnicia, and loseth them all again by the Defeat of Ciltes his lieutenant. Seleucus seizeth Babylon.
3	311	6	11	2	2	2 Demetrius marcheth to Babylon against Seleucus, and returns without Success.
4	310	7	12	3	3	3 Cassander slays Alexander Ægus with Roxana his Mother. Epicurus first teacheth his impious Philosophy.
5	309	8	13	4	4	4 Ptolemy takes several Cities from Antigonus in Lesser Asia.
6	308	9	14	5	5	5 He takes the Isle of Andros, and Corinth, Sicyon, and several other Cities on the Continent of Greece.
7	307	10	15	6	6	6 Opbellas slain by Agatocles, and Ptolemy recovers Libya and Cyrene.
8	306	11	16	7	7	7 Demetrius gains a great Victory over Ptolemy at Cyprus, and dispossesseth him of that whole Island. Antigonus hereon takes the Title of King.
9	305	12	17	8	8	8 Antigonus invadeth Egypt, and is repulsed with Loss.
4410	304		18	9	9	1 Demetrius besiegeth Rhodes without Success.
1	303		19	10	10	2 Seleucus having made himself Master of all the Provinces of Alexander's Empire beyond the Euphrates invadeth India, and maketh Peace with Sandrocottus.
2	302		20	11	11	3 Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyfimaachus confederate against Antigonus.
3	301		21	12	12	4 They vanquish and slay him at Ipsus in Phrygia.
4	300	Simon the Just.	1	13	13	5 After this Victory Ptolemy had Judæa, Phœnicia and Cœlesyria; and Seleucus the upper Syria, where he builds Antioch.
5	299		2	14	14	6 Demetrius gives his Daughter Stratonice in Marriage to Seleucus, and seizeth Cilicia.
6	298		3	15	15	7 Cassander dies in Macedonia.
7	297		4	16	16	8 Pyrrhus marries Antigone the Daughter of Berenice, Ptolemy's best beloved Wife, and by his Assistance recovers his Kingdom of Epirus.
8	296		5	17	17	9 Samaria wasted by Demetrius's Soldiers from Tyre.
9	295		6	18	18	10 Ptolemy recovers Cyprus from Demetrius.
4420	294		7	19	19	11 Demetrius made King of Macedon, and there reigns seven Years.
1	293		8	20	20	12 Seleucus builds Seleucia on the Tigris.
2	292		9	21	21	13 Simon the Just, High Priest of the Jews, dies, and is succeeded by Eliezar his Brother.



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